

Gender and School Leadership in Taiwan within the Context of Political Change

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to
the Institute of Education, University of London

December 2002

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Abstract

The political democratisation in Taiwan which started in the 1980s had an enormous impact on educational leadership in schools in the 1990s. Democratisation was imported into school leadership as the state of reform and change reached education. Moreover, gender also became an important issue as the number of women principals increased in Taiwan. This research uses case studies of eleven junior high schools in Northern Taiwan to explore the values and vision of Taiwanese men and women principals in a time of change. It examines how they engaged in change and how their staff perceived their efforts; and also how they tried to adapt or resist democratic practices in their schools. It looks at the ways in which 'democracy' was borrowed and interpreted in the school context.

The thesis reviews related theories about gender and school leadership in the West to see what insight they give in the Taiwanese context. In addition, related critiques about the influence of traditional Chinese culture and the impact of politics on school principals in Taiwan are examined.

The central research finding is that although men and women principals in Taiwan share similar vision and values about educational reform, other members of school staff perceive significant gender differences in the way principals have responded to the changes of democratisation. Staff generally show a preference to work with men rather than women principals. The thesis argues that the ill-defined principalship, together with the top-down process of 'democratisation' initiated by principals in schools, has created a paradox that makes principalship in Taiwan a very challenging task. For many newly arrived women principals, who did not fit the traditional image of 'male' principals, their aspiration to work hard and to make a difference to schools often creates unexpected resistance.

Acknowledgements

I was extremely fortunate to have had supervision from Professor Diana Leonard and Anne Gold. They have patiently led me, a beginner in women studies and also a foreign student who is not in good command of English, through this journey of researching men and women school principals in Taiwan, and have provided me with much encouragement, mentoring, guidance, support and invaluable advice throughout my doctoral studies.

I would also like to express my deepest thanks to the Professor Sophia Wen, Professor Yuti Lin, and Professor Chienfu Lin from the National Taiwan Normal University and Dr. Fu Mulong from the Ministry of Education in Taiwan, who have reviewed my research questions for me in order to fit in the Taiwanese context and kindly advised and assisted me greatly in collecting data and arranging school visits during my stay in Taiwan in 1998-9.

I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to all participants in the eleven schools in Taiwan who spared their valuable time to share their life stories and experiences at work in schools in Taiwan. Without their invaluable contributions, this thesis would not have been possible. Also thanks to my friends whom I met in London during the course of my study: Elisabeth, Cristina, Yiasemina, Thomas, Michael, Ricardo, Kostas, Katya, Angel and my late friend, Katalin. Conversations with you all have always been of great inspiration and enjoyment to me.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents who have great faith in me in completing this thesis.

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GLOSSARY

Here, I offer some explanation about the meaning of the certain terms that I have used in this thesis. Most of these terms are contested, but as I am writing with (at least) two cultures and languages, I base them on my own interpretations.

Democratisation According to the *Social Science Encyclopedia* (Pasquino, 1999:173), 'the process through which authoritarian regimes are transformed into democratic regimes' is called democratisation. However, there is no guarantee that a transition from authoritarianism will always and necessarily lead to a democratic regime. The term is used in this thesis to mean the process of decentralising and deregulating of governmental systems, in particular the educational service, by the government in Taiwan. In the case of educational reform, it seems that very often significant changes are the result of the government's commitment to organisational change, rather than to people's (in particular teachers') desire for change.

Leadership According to the *Dictionary of Politics*, leadership is 'a quality which in theory signifies the ability of a person or a group to persuade others to act by inspiring them and making them believe that a proposed course of action is the correct one' (Robertson, 1993: 275). Hunt (1999: 458) indicates that although leadership is sometimes treated as though it were virtually coterminous with management, more and more studies of leadership tend to emphasize various aspects of change, while studies of management stress the status quo. For him, the concept of leadership includes: vision, a sense of mission, and movement beyond the status quo (p. 459). The term 'leadership' is used in this research instead of 'management' because the discussion emphasises vision, values and change rather than management, or the maintainance of the status quo.

Centralization Centralization describes the concentration of government and political authority in the capital city and at the national level, as opposed to the sharing of powers and responsibilities between national, regional and local authorities. There is usually a strong correlation between centralization and size (Robertson, 1993: 54).

Decentralization Decentralization denotes a process or situation in which powers and responsibilities are transferred from a central authority to other, usually more local organisations. The term can be employed in relation to the political decision-making process, to the distribution of power between elected authorities and to the organization of the bureaucracy (Robertson, 1993: 125).

Principal This study chooses to use the term ‘principal’ instead of ‘head teacher.’ The main reason is that the nature of the work in Taiwan is closer to the American model (see Chapter Two). In general, principals' work has less to do with teaching and leadership and more to do with carrying out educational policies from the Ministry of Education or the bureau of education in each city. However, principals in Taiwan have been given more freedom and autonomy in recent years.

Middle manager and junior manager According to Oldroyd et al. (1996) middle manager is ‘a term increasingly used to describe heads of faculty, department or years in secondary schools who are responsible to the Senior Management Team’ (p. 40). On the other hand, heads, deputy heads and senior teachers are generally considered as senior managers. Although non-teaching staff tend to refer themselves as administrators in Taiwan (from the principal, heads of management offices to school messengers), I use the term ‘middle manager’ in this thesis to refer to people who act as the heads of an office under the school principal. There are usually six offices in each school: studies, discipline, counselling and guidance, bursary, personnel and accounting (see Diagram 2.4 Provincial Pan-Chiao Junior High School in Taiwan). The term ‘junior manager’ refers to people who work under middle managers. There are usually 2 to 4 of them in each office (for further details, see Section 2.2.2).

National normal universities Until 1995, these were the sole institutions in charge of secondary teacher training in Taiwan. There are a total of three; in northern, central and southern Taiwan. They offer four years of education in universities and one year's practice in schools. After 1995, many other universities were allowed to set up secondary teacher training courses in Taiwan.

National teacher colleges Until 1995, these were the sole institutions that were in charge of primary teacher training in Taiwan. They were 5-year junior college (16-21 year olds), but were upgraded into 4-year university colleges in 1982. There are nine of them in total around the island and they usually recruit 50% of men and 50% of women students. After 1995, other universities are allowed to set up primary teacher training courses. These are still not very common as generally many subjects were involved in primary school teaching.

Mandarin/gentleman The terms mandarin and gentleman are used sometimes used interchangeably in this thesis to represent the distant image of men principals in Taiwan. I believe that the principals' role in Taiwan is similar to the role of mandarins before China became a republic. For the Chinese, a gentleman is a well-educated man of decent character. However, they also believe that 'those who study well should be a mandarin' (slang), so the two terms actually share similar connotations. Although mandarins were usually considered very well-educated and carried a great deal of authority, they were not really required to be active at work, for while 'the official had to prove his charisma by the "harmonious" course of his administration... The actual administrative "work" could rest on the shoulders of subordinate officials'. (Weber cited in Gerth and Mills, 1997: 437) (See also Section 2.3.1) However, women do not fit in these two terms in any case.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter, I explain how I started researching school leadership and gender unintentionally and the significant role of different educational systems and cultural traditions in shaping the model of school leadership in Taiwan, which is different from the West. As a woman researcher, I find it is necessary to understand my own position in relation to the research. Thus, I use my own experience to illustrate how a secondary teacher like me was trained in Taiwan and how my experience affects my perception of school leadership in Taiwan. My account also tries to show how the society has changed within a short period in the course of the 1990s. Furthermore, a brief introduction of the thesis is given in the end of the chapter to guide readers through to the following chapters.

1.1 Writing about women and researching gender

1.1.1 Writing about women

It is difficult to give an exact account of when I first had the idea of writing something about women though it was certainly a changing point in my life. I came to England to do my MA in education in 1995, a degree that had nothing to do with gender. I wanted a break and I thought a postgraduate degree would be good for my future, but I had no clear career plan in mind. I came after working for two years in a secondary school, fearing that the longer I stayed as a teacher, the less courage I would have to give it up, as it is considered a very good job in Taiwan¹. I struggled a lot because I knew that once I was

¹ Among 41 classmates from university, only one left his school and became an educational official. I am to date the only other who has left the school. Most did their MA or doctoral courses in Taiwan and were able

out of the system, it would not be easy to get back again. Career security was the main concern, for myself and for most of my friends who are school teachers.

I finished my school education around the time that Martial Law, which had lasted for four decades, was lifted. The party and military influence were visible in the educational system, though I did not give it much thought at that time. My educational experience in London was different. I wondered in the beginning why we spent so much time on discussion instead of listening to what the tutors had to say. I was quite puzzled about what to call the tutors, as calling teachers by their first names was considered rude at home. Living in a student hall with students from different countries could also be very confusing sometimes. Coming from a society that set clear values for its citizens, I found it difficult to adjust and to respect the very diverse values of students from different countries.

Gradually, I also became aware of my position as an Asian woman, as I sensed people put me in that category, and I tried to figure out the meaning it carries. It was more out of curiosity rather than anything else, as some said the term implies 'exotic'. Some Western friends said that I was different (apparently meaning it as a compliment), though a few admitted later after getting to know me better that I was actually very 'Taiwanese/Chinese'. After leaving the protection of the state and the Taiwanese media, the frustrating experience of explaining my nationality to people also made my sense of Taiwaneseness grow much stronger. During that time and at the beginning of my research course, my perception of my identity started to shift: from Taiwanese, to Taiwanese

to go back to the same schools after they finished their courses.

abroad, to a Westernised person, to a can-not-be-named situation, until I reached the point of deciding that I was just myself though with different concerns at different periods of life.

1.1.2 Researching gender

After going home, I decided to come back and do a doctoral course, since I found it difficult to be a secondary school teacher again after studying abroad for a year; and also because I had (what I thought) a very limited role as an English teacher in a junior high school. I turned to 'women and management' primarily because I had done some courses related to management in the university before and thought that gender would be an interesting topic to explore. My initial plan was to write the thesis based on a quantitative approach which is a 'common' Western framework. However, the process turned out to be a big surprise.

My 'mistake' was not realising what it is like to do a gender related thesis in a Western country. Probably it is a good thing that I was so ignorant about this issue that I hardly thought it would affect me personally. Otherwise I might have made a different choice, since I had a 'stereotype' of feminism in mind. The only comment I can remember about feminism in my MA was made at the end of the course, when a woman friend from Southeast Asia warned me that women are cheated by feminism. However, having decided to study women and management, I started to explore issues related to feminism and feminist methodology, and realised that my initial project was becoming something very different. Without any background in feminism, I started by arguing with two tutors

that women teachers in Taiwan were treated equally and they had as many career choices as Taiwanese men. They both said they very much doubted if this was the case.

Not only did I put up a great deal of resistance during the learning process, I was also very concerned about whether Taiwanese people in the field of education would accept a work that was comparatively 'radical' in both methodology and the way problems were identified. I planned to finish this thesis and go home to work as a lecturer, and apart from this career concern, I was also worried about returning to Taiwanese society with all the ideas I had received in the UK. To what extent should I act according to what I believed? In the beginning I spend much time thinking how to do a 'safe' project with a certain distance, rather than really involving myself in it. In the first year, I consistently had the feeling of crossing a river without any idea how deep it was.

In the end, things proved better than expected. After all, Taiwan is currently a place under the influence of capitalism and globalisation where things can change overnight. On top of that, the government appears to be relatively soft (even supportive) of issues related to gender and human rights, even if this is mainly in order to gain international support to improve its isolated situation. On a visit home, I found there had been much progress in the women's movement and in educational reform while I was away.

1.2 Different systems, and different leadership

1.2.1 Different systems

Another thing which did not occur to me in the beginning was that I came to the UK from a different country with a very different culture of school management. I assumed that there were similar issues to be explored, such as decision-making, leadership in teaching, curriculum planning, developing staff and managing finance and resources etc. I thought it would be quite straightforward to do a project within a Western (in fact I had in mind an American) framework. Little did I know, until after completing my fieldwork, that the nature of the job is very different in the two countries and that the very terms ‘leadership’ and ‘management’ could mean very different things. The education system in Taiwan is embedded in the Confucian tradition, and influenced by colonisation and the imposition of Martial Law. It has therefore been very centralised and so is very different from the liberal tradition in England. Even though people talk about the same terms, (e.g. curriculum planning, decision making and so on), the significance attached to them is very different from in the West² at the time of my data gathering. Principals in Taiwan were actually acting as ‘middle managers’ (see Glossary). Everything, from students’ hairstyles and the editing of textbooks, to the values in each school, was regulated by the Ministry of Education. In a way, school principals have just been acting on orders received from the top, though this is changing. For someone inside the system, it is difficult to realise its significance without stepping outside it and looking at it from a distance.

² The word ‘West’ here refers to countries such as USA, UK, Canada, New Zealand and Australia as my literatures mostly come from these countries.

1.2.2 Cultural Differences

My initial plan was to interview at length a small number of women and men principals and to include their staff as well, to get a balanced picture of men and women principals' performance. One feature of school administration in Taiwan is that most principals usually stay in one school for 4 years (maximum 2 terms of office, 8 years), which makes it difficult to assess their contribution to the schools. But at the same time, it is easier for their staff, who have had various experiences with different principals, to indicate what they see as significant about their principals.

On return from fieldwork, my tutors and I found large cultural differences on reading the data collected through interviews. The enigmatic and cryptic way people talk, the way they distance themselves by referring to others' situations, the overemphasis on relationship, the taboo about revealing one's ambition, and the compliant attitudes they have towards promotion and their superiors, seemed strange to Western minds. Things I had taken for granted were a puzzle for people outside that culture. Therefore, I found I needed to write a chapter on Chinese values and behaviours and to show how politics affects the practice of education and thus to organise my data differently. The emphasis on harmony, relations-oriented tendency, the so-called authoritarian personality of Chinese people, and the current over enthusiasm for politics and democracy, all contribute to my informants' complicated way of thinking and talking which seemed self-contradictory from time to time.

Even though now many Taiwanese are seeking to break away from China completely³, there is no denying that the Taiwanese and Chinese have many things in common. The majority of Taiwanese immigrated from China in different eras. I therefore felt this could justify my using many materials related to Chinese values and behaviours when I reviewed the literature. Moreover, as Taiwanese women are brought up in a very different kind of culture from the West, it seemed important to illustrate how their thinking and behaviours are different from the West. I have, therefore, written a chapter about traditional education for Chinese women, women's education and the women's movement in Taiwan, and the current status of women teachers in Taiwan. It is interesting to note that most of the books on Chinese culture and Chinese women referred to here were published in Taiwan during the 80s and early 90s. After that, they seem to disappear and books related to Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese women emerge instead. Democratisation has played a significant role in this change.

There are numerous theses and dissertations done in Taiwan related to the role of women teachers and even a few which have focused on women principals in recent years (Chen, 2000a; Liu 2002). However, many conclude by advising women how to seek solutions by balancing family and work, and by adopting feminine/gentle strategies to manage schools. I would question their emphasis on family without challenging men's values, and also whether the feminine/gentle strategies they recommend will not further strengthen the stereotypes of men's and women's behaviours and will in fact impede women teachers' careers.

³ In reality, there are two governments: People's Republic of China (China) and Republic of China (Taiwan). Both had a tacit consent of 'one China two countries' until the ex-President of Taiwan claimed the relationship between China and Taiwan is 'state to state', which created a crisis in 2000.

1.3 Being a woman teacher in a Taiwanese school

1.3.1 My educational background – the education to accept everything as it is

Upon finishing junior high school education, I tried to enter a national teachers' college (see Glossary), and not very surprisingly failed the competitive entrance examination. I had decided to do it without giving it much thought, because these colleges were like medicine and law departments in the universities and they only recruited the most able pupils though they did not offer degrees⁴. In 1982, these colleges were all upgraded and started offering first degrees. I went to a state girls' senior high school instead. In the case of Taiwan, state single-sex schools are usually the top choice for people who want to go on to universities.

I went to a girls' senior high school for the next three years. We had a woman principal, as in most girls' senior high schools. In every senior school there were military officers (education officers) working under the Office of Discipline. These people supervised our life closely and gave us two hours' military training, or nursing and simple medical training (for girls only), every week. Once a year, we were taken to military camps to practice with real guns, because of the belief that we might need to defend ourselves

⁴Teachers in Taiwan enjoy high social status. A 1980 survey on the prestige levels of 40 occupations found that university professors ranked at the top alongside cabinet members and Supreme Court justices, and that school principals and secondary school teachers ranked second, equal to legislators, medical doctors, and engineers. Those who enter teaching are dedicated and academically able (Wu, 1997: 192).

anytime. During our school years, we had military manoeuvres every year to know where to hide in case of war, until the Martial Law was lifted in 1987. As the shadow of war was always there, a military influence was very visible in the campus and remains so today⁵. I remember once a young woman military officer mentioned that a student living in the dormitory complained to her that she had not resealed a letter after reading it. The officer apologised and promised that she would reseat letters next time. Occurrences like these were hardly questioned. Newly recruited teachers and students were asked to join the KMT, the ex-ruling party, from time to time. Some did, especially boys who were much concerned about their future careers and who had to serve in the army once they reached the age of 18, but this was less of an issue for girls.

Some students like me, who lived near the school, and could afford to spend more time in school, were asked to be 'student inspectors'. This system was prevalent at every level of school education until today. We wore armbands like policemen and helped teachers to discipline other students. To take myself as an example, I spent about two weeks each semester hanging around the local train station in the morning and afternoon. My job was to check if students were dressed properly; if they had their school bags on the correct side of their shoulders (different side in the morning and afternoon); if they put their collars out when they wore coats; if they stood too close to the rail when the train arrived, and so on. If students did not act according to school regulations, I had to write down the numbers embroidered on their uniform shirts and the class they belonged to. Points would then be deducted from their class so that their classes would have less chance to get

⁵ Even private schools were compelled to have military officers in residence, teaching, training and supervising student life. (Gold, 1994: 53)

weekly Honour Awards. I remember one day I confronted a girl several times at the train station because she did not dress as required. She could have just done what I asked, but she chose to ignore me instead. The incident stayed in my mind for a long time both because I did not understand her insistence, and also I wondered whether it was really important that she acted according to the rules.

1.3.2 Being trained as a teacher – collective lifestyle and conservative climate

After getting the result of the National Joint College Entrance Examination, I chose to enter one of the three national normal universities (see Glossary) on the island. Lacking proper career guidance, like most students, I simply enrolled in the Department of Education in this university because of the influence of my parents, who were both teachers, and also because being a teacher was considered a good choice for girls. The tuition was free and I knew that I would have a highly respected job later. Boys from other universities always wanted to date these teachers-to-be because nothing is better than to marry a teacher. She knows how to educate children and she also has three months vacation every year. However, since my major was education, the professors would remind us from time to time that it was better for us to be school managers or civil servants, as we did not major in any specific subjects in the secondary school curriculum.

The experience of studying in a normal university was not like studying in any other university. We had more student assemblies and the atmosphere there was considered more conservative even now. Some national universities were nicknamed as ‘party’

universities' because of the influence within them of the ex-ruling KMT party. We had to live in university dormitories unless we got letters from our parents agreeing to let us move out. We had free meals and a monthly allowance as pocket money. As in other universities, military officers took turn to live with us as wardens. We had 3 to 4 students in every room. Every night, the senior in each room had to sign in before the gate of the dormitory was locked. We also still had military and nursing training as a compulsory course for two hours a week in the first two years, as did all other universities in Taiwan.

Things started to change gradually. Martial Law was lifted in 1987. In 1990, when I was a sophomore, I joined a sit-in demonstration demanding that congressmen from China retire. They had been elected in China before 1949. Since the government could no longer call for another election in China, they had become permanent members. Some of my friends were upset with me for going there, and the teachers were nervous and went to the site to persuade us to leave. Those people were finally removed from their posts. However, I felt that people in Taiwan were caught in a dilemma about what to pursue from that point. The KMT government guaranteed a stable and prosperous life with limited freedom. But there was a great deal of corruption within the system, many restrictions, and the local culture was repressed⁶. For example, we were forbidden to use dialects in school and mentioning the word 'Taiwan' would arouse the suspicion of being 'pro-independence' and 'endangering the country.' The word 'China' was used instead. The *Dang Wai* (meaning Out of the Party, since there was only one legal party) people called for freedom and independence, but many worried about the consequences.

⁶ According to Gold (1994:60), '(t)he mainlanders looked down on Taiwanese culture as a hybrid of the Chinese outback and Japanese imperialism, marginalizing it as something of value only to foreign anthropologists. The regime primarily defined Taiwan's identity in security term – Free China – but it also cultivated Taiwan as the last outpost of traditional Chinese high culture. Taiwanese folk arts, in particular

1.3.3 Becoming a teacher – alienation as a teacher

After graduation, I applied to teach English in a junior high school in northern Taiwan and was accepted. When I arrived in my first school, which was soon to become a senior high school, I was told that it was only a temporary position and I would soon have to leave. I did not give it much thought, since I knew the Bureau of Education and the school 'were responsible' for finding a place for me later. But before long, I realised that the new plan had turned the school upside down. The principal wanted most of the 'old' teachers to leave the school as he preferred to recruit new teachers who had Master degrees or who had previous experience in teaching senior high school students, so as to give the school a better reputation. Many teachers had already left or planned early retirement, and there were many supply teachers on campus. Many teachers complained that the principal had no legal right to force teachers to leave since it was a state school and teachers were supposed to work for the government, not for him. But nobody confronted him openly. At the same time, I also sensed a huge gap between teachers and managers, as most managers were able to stay.

I was there for one year and only got to know a few people as I was based in a small office with five other colleagues. But I did develop a close relationship with the colleagues with whom I shared the office and with the young teachers who joined the school at the same time as I did. However, I could not name most of the other staff there even though their faces were familiar to me; and although I was supposed to do my teaching practice there,

opera and festivals, did thrive, but as low culture.'

I did not feel I was properly guided, due to the situation on campus. I thus went on to my second school feeling professionally ill-equipped.

The second school was a very well-established school with more than 3,000 students. I was put in a small office together with six other teachers. The managers' offices were on the other side of campus. They were like mandarins (see Glossary) to me in some ways, both because they showed me what I was supposed to do in school with little negotiation, and because of the limited interaction between us. We only met at the regular school meetings.

1.3.4 The job as a teacher – academic performance above all

As a young teacher, my main concern was how my students performed and behaved in class. Most of my students had high expectations of themselves, therefore I just tried to do whatever I could to help them. Student academic performance was the main indicator of a teacher's performance, so I devoted most of my energy to it. At each three major term examinations, I went to the school notice board to check how many students of mine were in the top 100. Very often, other teachers came up to me and compared the average scores of their students with my class. I also asked students to come to school during the weekend to study, or to get more practice in examinations from time to time.

In my school in a big city, students in their last year (year 9) usually stayed in school until 9:00 pm. everyday. Of course, class tutors (and parents occasionally) had to be there, and there was no extra pay. I always felt sorry for those women teachers who were juggling

their students and their own families. In this city, the situation of teachers' overworking was better because the Bureau of Education checked on schools more often as they wanted to make sure students had a more normal education and life⁷. It was in this context that the government decided reform was necessary.

More senior (academic) high schools were set up, and a series of multi-entry projects were designed so that more students would have the chance to go to senior high schools instead of vocational senior high schools. When I interviewed principals in Taiwan in 1998, principals might talk about their concern for the quality of teaching, but none talked about raising academic standards. But it is still an important issue, since people are not sure if the reforms will work or not. It is however simply not very 'politically correct' nowadays to talk about it.

1.3.5 How my background affects my perceptions

I initially chose education as my major mostly because I feel it was a good choice for me. But as a consequence, during my four years at the university, although we were well provided for by the government, we were also under close supervision. When I started to work as a teacher, I saw that teachers were unfairly treated, but nobody said anything to the school managers. As a teacher, I felt quite alienated in both schools because of the bureaucratic school culture, though in both schools we did form small teacher support groups. However, the groups were formed more on the basis of friendship rather than sharing professional experience. When it came to our work, we were left to ourselves.

⁷ In Taiwan, it was not unusual for students to spend 7 days a week in the campus. Generally more than half

When I examine the changing role of junior high school principals in Taiwan - their vision and values, their leadership styles and their mode of communication - my professional background helps me to understand and interpret what I have seen during my visits. In general, there is a clear cut division between teaching and management in schools in Taiwan. When I interviewed school staff, I somehow understood why many teachers have no interest in what is going on in the management teams and why some principals disagree with teachers' conduct in teaching. Many principals complain that teachers are very slow in relating to changes; while many teachers have difficulties adjusting to the styles of newly arrived principals.

Very often, I felt embarrassed when interviewing, as if my informants were blaming me since my days of teaching are not so far away, and I felt as if I was still the young and inexperienced teacher that I was not so long ago. In general, teachers are reluctant co-operators in recent reforms, and they are not sure what is going on. I consistently felt that I was caught in the middle: I was a teacher before, but the principals really tried to help me understand their position for the first time in my life.

Taiwanese principals still act more like middle managers, having quite limited scope for exercising their influence. There may be a trend towards decentralisation and deregulation, but the government is still largely in control of the direction, which makes school leadership more challenging for principals nowadays.

of students would spend their evening in cramming schools after they left their schools.

Democracy is a relatively new concept in Taiwanese society as well as in schools. This is not to blame the policies of the ex-government as they were probably left with no choice. When World War Two finished, they lost sovereignty of China, and the fear of Communism pushed them to the other extreme, whose nature in reality was not really very different from Communism.

This thesis is an attempt to explain some of the issues raised in this autobiography.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

In Chapter Two, I will explore Taiwan's path to democracy to show why its people have a strong aspiration for democracy. I will also introduce the Taiwanese school system to enable readers to understand how politics have dominated the development of formal education in Taiwan. Confucianism plays a significant role in education and possibly further affects people's behaviours, expectations and school cultures. However, the growing interest in democracy has led to a questioning of the compatibility of Confucianism and democratisation. Some aspects of Confucianism, such as loyalty, elite leadership and the preference for orders, seem to go against democratic principles, but are deeply embedded in the national psyche.

To understand how far Taiwanese women have gone and their status today, it is necessary to understand the changing role of Taiwanese women. Therefore, Chapter Three is devoted to this purpose. In Chapter Three, I argue that the role of women has also been greatly influenced by Confucianism. At the same time, women's status has been very

closely related to politics in both China and Taiwan since the early 20th century. Women were asked to change because of a concern about the fate of the nation in the early 20th century. The women's movement was able to progress very quickly in Taiwan in the 1990s because of its strategy of interacting with formal politics, though not without some problems. Women's education in Taiwan also made a great deal of progress, though various inequalities still exist. Because of the Confucian tradition and government policies, teaching remains a popular choice for people, especially for girls. Nevertheless, there are fewer women than men school managers, but since administrative posts have subsequently become less popular due to the on-going education reform, more and more women are being encouraged to take part in management.

Chapter Four is a discussion of school leadership and gender, which examines the shifting focuses of leadership and management theories and related women and management/leadership theories in the USA, UK, New Zealand and Australia. There has been a move in the mainstream literature from a discussion of management towards a focus on leadership, which emphasises values and vision more, and related feminist writing has also caught this trend. I found the accounts of 'transformational leadership' particularly fitted in with my discussion of principalship in Taiwan.

Chapter Five details the methodology of the research. Fieldwork was conducted mainly qualitatively, through interviews and observation. Eleven state junior high schools were visited in a northern city of Taiwan, and semi-structured/individual interviews conducted with 11 principals, 26 middle managers, 3 junior managers and 24 teachers. I also observed one or two school managers'/ teachers' meetings and other events in each

school, and kept a research diary about what happened during my visit. Some education officials of the city were also interviewed.

In order to have a better overall understanding about the background of principals in Taiwan, a questionnaire was administered to all principals in junior high schools in one city. Questions were asked about their religion, political party, marital status, the nature of their work, and the enjoyment, and satisfaction they gained from their work.

The following three chapters set out the main findings of the research. In Chapter Six, the changing role of principals in Taiwan and their vision are discussed. In general, interviewees in this research saw principalship as a position with no power, or as a position whose nature has been changed because of democratisation. Many were confused about the principals' role. When I asked middle managers if they would apply for the principalship examination, many said 'no' because they were not interested. This was particularly true in the case of men managers. When I asked teachers if they intended to become managers, most also said they were not interested. For those who had taken up the offer, many replied that they were not comfortable in saying no, or that they were in no position to reject it. However, middle managers showed more positive attitudes about their job and the pursuit of principalship than teachers.

It is argued that school managers' vision for their schools cannot be very diverse because of the way they are selected and trained, and that they generally show a tendency towards democratisation. However, the difference of vision between principals and teachers can be very marked. As the job of a teacher is very different from that of a school manager,

these differences usually cause conflict between managers and teachers.

Chapter Seven discusses how teaching professionals perceive men and women principals as leading their schools in Taiwan. School managers are usually very supportive of both men and women principals, as they believe the job demands loyalty. However, men subordinates seem to be a lot more formal with women bosses. Teachers, however, usually have less idea about the work of principals and middle managers, due to the bureaucratic system that ensures that their work (teaching) has very little to do with managers and principals. It is one of the characteristics of Chinese society that people are indifferent to people who do not connect to them in any way. The lack of participation in decision-making is probably another reason.

In teacher professionals' perception, women managers seem to feel responsible for the whole organisation; while men stay within their jobs. Most interviewees perceive that women managers are concerned with detail, which creates more work for themselves and others, while men are seen as only giving general but clear directions. About one third of my interviewees mentioned that women engaged in change more actively, and are tougher and more ambitious, while men principals are still being stereotyped as doing nothing.

Chapter Eight explores whether people would like to work with men or women and then tries to explain the reasons why. I found that though interviewees explained things differently, most people indicated their preference for working with men principals.

Moreover, the masculine school culture in Taiwan also leads to staff: (1) preferring to keep more distance from principals, (2) caring more about character and relationship, and less about the professional expertise of leaders, and (3) preferring rational (men) principals rather than emotional (women) principals in Taiwan. This kind of gendered (masculine) organizational culture in Taiwan thus puts women principals at a disadvantage.

In Chapter Nine, I argue that Confucianism and the political situation in Taiwan help to form a particular kind of leader who places emphasis on their own charisma and respect for social order, rather than on their capability as school leaders. Moreover, they also help to generate a particular kind of educational reform led by the elite. It seems that women principals are assigned as the agents of change, and thus risk being exploited as they do not carry enough authority to enforce it. Also, those at the grassroots are not fully prepared for change. However, I also argue that women managers need to be aware that democratisation in political and educational spheres is offering them great opportunities and allowing them to change the masculine culture in Taiwan.

In the last chapter, I draw some conclusions from all the issues raised in this thesis. By tracing the problems and difficulties that men and women principals face in Taiwan now, I hope to help women teachers and managers in Taiwan to hear ‘another’ version of the story as the thesis will be completed in England.

Chapter 2: Taiwanese Schools

The following chapter gives a brief history of Taiwan, to show how far the country has come. By tracing the path toward democracy, I intend to argue that ‘democracy’ as a concept has served as a means for Taiwanese people to find their identity, and I shall examine how the term is used on all kinds of occasions to serve different or even contradictory purposes. Politics, in which ‘democracy’ plays an important part, have dominated educational development in Taiwan. But the school system and the structure of school administration in Taiwan also reflect the Confucian influence. I shall also therefore explore those elements of Confucianism that help to shape school leadership in Taiwan: the concept of a Chinese ‘gentleman’, the emphasis on ethics, morality, harmony, the strong tendency towards social, situation and relation oriented behaviours, authoritarian personality, and the sense of helplessness found in literati. It is also crucial to illustrate how these elements have excluded women as leaders in Chinese society. At the end of the chapter, the compatibility of Confucianism and democratisation is explored, and I conclude that there are contradictions between them.

When Winckler (1994) was asked to write about culture in a place like Taiwan, he saw it as a challenge because Taiwan is a place with ‘great tradition, small island; conservative state, drastic change; cultural imperialism, committed Nationalism; localist sentiment, cosmopolitan sophistication’ (p.22). I shall attempt as best I can to present a full picture of these combinations of attributes.

2.1 The history of Taiwan: political change and the path to democracy

Taiwan is located in the Western Pacific off the southeast coast of the Chinese mainland. Areas under the jurisdiction of the Taiwanese (Republic of China) government are the islands of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu, and other small islets. Taiwan and its adjacencies have a combined area of approximately 36,000 sq. km. In June 2001, the total population of the Taiwan area was 22.3 million people (Government Information Office, 2001b). According to Law (2002), 98% of the population are Han Chinese and the rest consist of nine indigenous peoples. Of the former, about 85 % of them are considered 'native Taiwanese' who came to Taiwan before 1945, and less than 15 % are considered as mainlanders whose parents or grandparents moved after 1945. The official language used in Taiwan is Mandarin, based on the Beijing dialect. Two other major dialects spoken on the island are southern Fujianese and Hakka.

When considering about educational policy in Taiwan, one cannot be ignorant of the central role of politics. Political issues are crucial because these involve discussions of Taiwanese identity and the future of 22 millions of Taiwanese people in relation to China. The Chinese government is responsible for the increasing political isolation of Taiwan, which is still not recognized as a nation-state by most countries. Consequently, a key issue for policy makers in Taiwan is how to promote Taiwan as a 'democratic' country in order to distinguish it from the Communist China and to gain support from the international community. Thus, efforts have been made by the government, as well as the general public, to transform the country from an authoritarian state to a democracy. Overall, Taiwanese people are exploring issues of democratisation. Thus, it is important

that educational planning and policies in Taiwan are able to meet the above needs of democratic development and the building of Taiwanese identity.

2.1.1 The history of Taiwan

According to Smith (1997), the earliest contact between the aborigines of the island and China occurred in 605 A.D. In the mid-fifteenth century, China again made contact with Taiwan, and thus began the cross-straits migration from Fukien province to Taiwan. The island became a haven for pirates as well as Chinese who chose to leave their mainland homes (p. 23). From the 16th century onwards, Taiwan was colonised by the Spanish, the Dutch and the Japanese. The Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish wished to convert the population to Christianity through education and teaching (Smith, 1997). China conquered Taiwan in 1661, when Koxinga, the Chinese scholar-general who fought against the Ching dynasty, and drove away the Dutch, took Taiwan. A Chinese-oriented school system thus started to develop in Taiwan, with the purpose of training Chinese youth for positions in government. The system prevailed under the Ching dynasty (1644-1911) and was the foundation of the educational system that prevails in Taiwan today.

From 1895 to 1945 Taiwan was under the severe colonial rule of Japan, which in 1895 was given the island by the defeated Manchus. At the end of the World War Two, Taiwan was handed over to the control of the Republic of China, under the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist) government of General Chiang Kai-shek. The move brought an end to more than 50 years of Japanese control. In 1949 Chairman Mao's communists took control of

the mainland and the Nationalist government arrived in Taiwan, humiliated by its defeat by the Communists. More than 1.5 million refugees fled with Chiang. In that same year, martial law was declared – an order not lifted until 1987 - and the nationalist government vowed that it would eventually ‘recover the mainland’.

During the early 1950s, the Nationalist government began to institute local and provincial elections in Taiwan, but members of the three national representative institutions (the National Assembly, the Legislative Yuan and the Control Yuan) elected on the mainland in 1947-48 were allowed to serve indefinitely (Leng & Lin, 1995:154). This was used as the basis for a claim to represent all China. Chiang’s government imposed harsh restrictions on civil and political liberties, jailing or executing thousands of opponents and clamping down on the use of native Taiwanese dialects. ‘On Taiwan itself liberation from Japanese rule was initially welcomed, but many quickly came to resent the corruption of the new government and what was seen as the exploitation of Taiwanese resources for mainland post-war reconstruction.’⁸ The KMT’s authoritarian rule created a period of colonial rule under martial law⁹. However, the regime was still firmly supported by the USA government. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Taiwan was seen as part of the west’s bulwark against communist expansionism. The US poured in money and military supplies¹⁰.

However, the focus slowly began to shift from reconquest of the mainland to the

⁸ BBC online News/ Asia Pacific/ Taiwan election March 2000. (http://www.newsbbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/asia_pacific/2000/taiwan_elections2000/default.stm/)

⁹ According to (Sheridan, 1999:171), this was virtually another period of colonisation, with all kinds of abuses by mainland oligarchs against the native Chinese.

¹⁰ According to (Sheridan, 1999: 172) the role of America, which was friend, protector, tutor and intimate collaborator for 40 years of the Cold War, was greater in Taiwan than in any other Chinese society.

development of the island itself. In 1979 opposition groups organised a protest rally in the southern city of Kaohsiung to mark International Human Rights Day. Eventually, the first opposition party the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was established in 1986 (though illegal at the time). In its 1986 party platform, the DPP said that the future of Taiwan should be determined by all the residents of the island (Leng and Lin, 1995: 174).

The distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese mainlanders thus gradually emerged and become an issue. Taiwanese are people whose ancestors are Han and share 'traditional' Chinese culture. They migrated to the island from China before 1945. According to Gold (1998), these 'Taiwanese had been subjected to 50 years of orderly Japanese colonial control, thereby avoiding the chaos of mainland China's incessant civil wars and foreign invasions. The mainlanders came in and in effect established a neo-colonial regime, brutally eliminating the local elite and monopolizing the top positions in the party, state, state-owned enterprises and education system' (p. 60).

A Taiwanese professor who went to USA in the 1960s talked about how he became a Taiwanese in the annual Taiwanese American Meeting in 1992:

In appearance, the government called us Chinese. Actually, they took us as second class citizens. Since the day I was a primary school student, the government reminded us that our local languages and customs can not compare with the Chinese language and culture reformed by Sun Yan-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. We were only the descendants of pirates and murders and were not completely civilised. Our language has been eroded by Polynesian languages. Those Chinese who rule us try their best to oppress our folk culture and religions. For these promoters of a greater China, we were interested in backward and excessive superstitious activities, rather than following the wise and sensible Chiang Kai-shek. (Zhang, 2001: 218, my translation)

The ending of martial law in 1987 legalized political parties. After the death of President Chiang Ching-kuo a year later, Lee Teng-hui became the island's first native-born president. Institutional and legal reforms led to the first comprehensive parliamentary elections in 1992 and direct election of the President in 1996. In 1991, the Nationalists' claim to rule all China was dropped, and the ageing Nationalist Chinese legislators that were elected on the mainland in 1947 were sent into retirement. The DPP's candidate, Chen Shui-bian, gained 39% of votes and became President in 2000. In April 2001, a total of 94 political parties had registered with the Ministry of Interior in Taiwan.

2.1.2 The pursuit of democracy and the consequences of democratisation in Taiwan

The following section provides a brief account of the main issues around democratisation in Taiwan. The purpose is to show what contributed to the occurrence of transitions to democracy in Taiwan, and also what kind of challenges that it is facing at the moment.

Many factors affected Taiwan's transition to democracy, Huntington (1996: 4-11) suggests five which contributed significantly to the occurrence and the timing of the third wave¹¹ of transitions to democracy, which includes Taiwan. These are as follows:

- 1, The deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian regimes in a world where democratic values were widely accepted, and the inability of these regimes to maintain their 'performance legitimacy' due to economic (and sometimes military) failure;

¹¹ What he defines as the third wave of democratization are dozens of countries that made transitions to democracy between 1974 and 1990 (Huntington, 1996).

- 2, the unprecedented global economic growth of the 1960s, which greatly expanded the urban middle class in many countries;
- 3, a striking shift in the doctrine and activities of the Catholic Church;
- 4, changes in the policies of external actors, most notably the EC, USA and the Soviet Union;
- 5, 'snowballing' or the demonstration effect of transitions earlier in the third wave in stimulating and providing models for subsequent efforts at democratisation.

The occurrence of democratisation in Taiwan can be related to the above factors, apart from the changes in the Catholic church.

In comparison with the massive instability and disruption to social order that was experienced by the Russians and Eastern Europeans after the demise of the Soviet Union, what Taiwan experienced was minor (Wachman, 1994: 32). Leng and Lin (1995) consider that there were some positive signs of Taiwan's transition to democracy in the early 1990s. There were two major parties (KMT and DPP), both strongly committed to democracy; there was a free market economy, which generated popular demands for further political reform; there were assertive social movements and civil organizations. Stable and broadly inclusive political parties had emerged. Regular elections for local and central representatives were held, and the president of the ROC was directly elected.

Nevertheless, there was a great challenge to Taiwan's transition to democracy, that is identity crisis resulted by the issue of independence vs. reunification. Taiwanese independence movements had already gathered momentum in the 1950s. Sporadic efforts were made to show, in historical, linguistic and ethnic terms, that the Taiwanese cannot be classified ethnographically with other groups of Chinese, though such assertions were rare in Taiwan at that time (Tu, 1998). The end of the Cold War brought about the demise

of Communism and the resurgence of separatism. Those who advocate Taiwan independence have been encouraged by the independence of the three Baltic states and other former Soviet republics, and their later admission into the United Nations (Leng and Lin, 1995:174).

Although the resurgence of separatism in Europe from 1988 to 1992 was mainly based on different ethnicities and languages, the key factor of this explosion of separatism is due to the political decision of the Soviet regime, which was facing serious economic difficulties and decide to withdraw its influence and military force from its satellite regimes (Hobsbawn, 1990). However, Taiwan is neither able to gain the agreement from China for its pursuit of independence, nor able to establish a separate identity in terms of its culture, ethnicity and languages to disengage itself from China. Thus, there is no strongly unified identity in Taiwanese society to secure the ground for the development of nationalism. For Tu (1998), the issue of cultural identity in Taiwan seems to be 'the inevitable consequence of the disintegration of the dominant neo-traditional, conservative and conformist ideology' (p.75). Moreover, the Taiwanese government so far has been unable to clearly define Taiwan's national identity and transform Taiwan's 'nativism' - the question of what it is to be a Taiwanese - from a critique of Sino-centrism to a dominant ideology in Taiwan.

Furthermore, as Chu & Lin (2001) argue, the deepening economic interdependence of Taiwan and China, the settlement of an increasing number of Taiwanese businessmen and migrants in China, and the emergence of a Mandarin-based media industry across the Straits will certainly complicate the consolidation of Taiwanese identity. Most

fundamentally, 'an elite-orchestrated Taiwanese nation-building project will inevitably run into a head-on collision with a state-orchestrated Chinese nationalism on the mainland, putting the security and well-being of the Taiwanese people at grave risk.' (p.129)

Democratisation, though desired and welcomed by Taiwanese people, has thus brought out the issue of national identity. At the same time, the moves towards Taiwan asserting its *de facto* independence drew angry reactions from the mainland. After President Lee was re-elected by popular mandate in 1996, Taiwan's relations with the mainland worsened though economic links quickly expanded. An official survey from Executive Yuan, Mainland Affairs Council in 1993 showed that 48.5% of people saw themselves as Chinese; 16.7% of them as Taiwanese and 33% of people considered themselves as both. However, a survey in February 2002 showed that only 13.9% of people considered themselves to be Chinese; 45% of them considered themselves as Taiwanese, while 40 % of people considered themselves as both. This is a dramatic change within a short period (Zhang, 2001:228-9).

Sheridan (1999) writes:

By the late 1990s, something of the reverse was coming into force. It was chic to be a Taiwanese, to speak Taiwanese and, when speaking Mandarin, to have a pronounced Taiwanese accent. In the 1998 race for mayor of Taipei, the DPP incumbent even rather ludicrously accused his mainland-born KMT opponent of 'putting China first', a charge hotly denied by the KMT man, who won. But the very fact that a charge of 'putting China first', however farfetched, could be a significant negative in Taiwanese politics shows how far, psychologically, Taiwan has travelled away from the mainland (p. 163).

Though democratisation helps to bring out the identity issue of Taiwanese, John Lee, in his study of political change in Taiwan from 1949 to 1974, observed that ‘people in Taiwan do not have such a firm belief in democracy as to act democratically on all occasions. They believe that policies should be in the interest of the people but they seem to prefer authoritarian and informed ways of decision-making, to rules of law called for by open process of political competition.’ (King, 1994: 236).

2.2 The educational system in Taiwan

Education and politics are usually intertwined, and Taiwan is no exception. The Taiwanese scholar Young (1995) argues that education in Taiwan serves as a major contributor to economic growth and political stability, thus its role as an agent of social change is limited.

This section discusses how Taiwan ‘borrowed’ from various education systems in different periods and argues that the formal education systems in both China and Taiwan have been the product of foreign borrowing at times of national crisis. After the nationalist government retreated to Taiwan, the borrowing continued and education was again used to serve Taiwan’s economic development and for the consolidation of the regime’s power. In this context, this section then introduces the school system and the role of school principals and managers in Taiwan.

2.2.1 The borrowed system: The evolution of the education system in Taiwan

The contemporary system of Taiwanese state schools was first organized at the beginning of the 19th century. Between 1901 and 1905, the imperial government in China issued a series of reform decrees. The Japanese system was used as the first model. Examinations were abolished in 1905 and the direct link between learning and bureaucratic power was broken. In 1909, academic schools were divided into two streams – industrial and liberal arts – inspired by German secondary education. In 1922, the American ‘six-three-three-four’ system was implemented: six years in elementary schools, three in junior school, three in senior high, and four in the university. During 1927-28, the new government planned an administrative system based on the French model. This plan called for regionally independent education districts under university management (Pepper 1996).

Ministers of Education at different periods who studied abroad always borrowed features, which they considered good for Chinese education. In general, this period of borrowing is considered as a failure, because the government ignored the difference of cultures and the differing backgrounds of different countries (Fu, 1984). Overall, this was a period of looking for direction without much success.

The development of education in Taiwan is usually seen as divided into two periods: before and after World War Two. Before the war, education was either not much emphasised or it served the needs of the state which had colonised Taiwan. The formal educational system was set up in the 17th century under the Ching Dynasty, but little

attention was paid to educational affairs at that time. Three Confucian schools were set up at the regional level, and ten at the county level. Students were enrolled only when they passed a qualifying examination, but they did not really study at the schools: rather they came from time to time to take examinations and to receive allowances. Most graduates went to the Chinese mainland to take the higher level examinations. These schools were therefore actually institutes for examinations (Lai, 1993). When Japan acquired Taiwan in 1895 under the Treaty of Shimonoseki after China had lost the Sino-Japan War in 1894, education changed dramatically. According to Hsieh, et al. (1999:3),

Japan implemented a colonial education policy aimed at assimilation, systematically suppressing traditional Chinese education, in support of Japanese language and values. Western-style elementary education was provided beginning in 1898 and was later extended to secondary and higher levels. However, Taiwanese children had limited opportunities to receive education, far less than Japanese children in Taiwan. (Hsieh, et al., 1999:3)

After 1945, education in Taiwan again moved into a very different stage. In the early stages, following the relocation of the central government to Taiwan, there was a very closed and uni-directional system. Then from 1950, the Ministry of Education conducted several small-scale experiments in the school system and curriculum and many projects were borrowed from USA. However, because these projects ignored the Taiwanese social and cultural background, they failed to have significant effects.

The main thrust of education since 1949 has been to consolidate the KMT's regime and to prevent the invasion of Communist ideology. During the 1950s, Taiwan was faced with uncertainty and tensions in the political environment. The major educational movements imposed on schools during this time, such as the Mandarin Speaking Movement,

developed education which countered Communism and Russian ideology: they reflected patriotic education and a revival of Confucian philosophy. Between 1957 and 1980, emphasis shifted to the planning and development of human resources in coordination with the national goal of economic development.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the political atmosphere began to loosen up.

...it appears that just as the various social movements started to die down, the educational-reform movement – as if having a delayed reaction to the changing times - took off full steam... Their purpose was simple: to liberate education in Taiwan from its centralised authoritarian structure that forced students to receive education ill-suited to their individual needs and to cram for joint entrance exams in order to proceed to the next educational level. (Lee, 1999c: 111)

2.2.2 Schooling in Taiwan

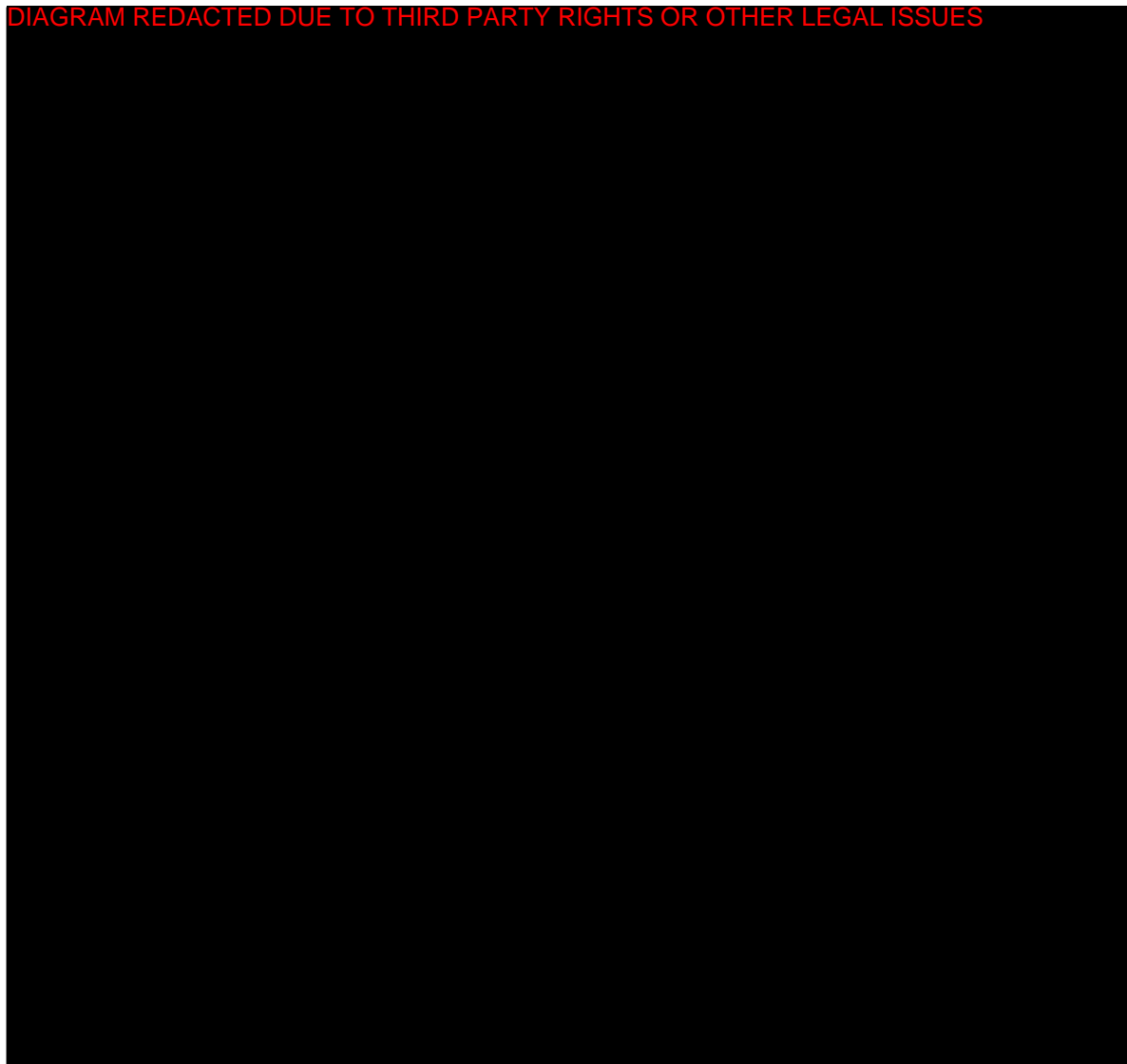
The educational system in Taiwan is based on a '6-3-3-4' system (see Diagram 2-1). Before the founding of the Republic of China in 1912, Western-style schools had already been introduced. In 1902, the Ching court adopted a Western educational system in emulation of Japan, and in 1922, the American system was implemented. Once the nationalist government relocated in Taiwan, this system was continued.

According to Yang (1998), many important educational policies are in fact part of economic development planning. Between the 1950s and 1980s, the government instituted a series of manpower development programmes with the assistance of American consultants to this end. Sun (1994) also indicates that the general practice has been to predict the demand for people with various levels of education and of various

specializations according to the planned rate of economic growth and the structure of industry. These predictions are then used by the Ministry of Education as a reference in determining the number of students to be admitted to various schools (p.100). The expansion of compulsory education (from 6 to 9 years) in 1968, the percentage of graduates between academic and vocational high school¹², the increasing number of technology colleges in the 1950s, the expansion of technical and engineering faculties in the 1960s, and the increasing number of graduate schools in 1970s can all be traced back to the targets of the manpower and economic development programmes (Yang, 1998: 49-50).

¹² Until the early 90s, the ratio between students in senior high schools and vocational senior high schools was 3:7 according to the manpower development programmes.

Diagram 2-1 The Current School System in Taiwan



Source: Ministry of Education (2001a:15)

On the other hand, education has also always been a core concern for the government because of the influence of Confucianism. When the Constitution¹³ was promulgated in

¹³ Article 164 of the Constitution states that, 'Expenditures of educational programmes, scientific studies and cultural services shall not be, in respect of the Central Government, less than 15%; in respect of each province, less than 25% of the total provincial budgets; and in respect of each municipality or hsien(county), less than 35 % of the total municipal or hsien budget.'

1947, it set the percentage of educational budget at different levels¹⁴. Xue (1993) believes this has enabled the government to make education the main tool to achieve its political agendas, since education in Taiwan serves politically to ensure the stability of society. According to Yang (1998:83), the government never tried to disguise the fact that the purpose of school education was to promote nationalism. Thus, political issues became one of the main themes in textbooks, and because of the emphasis on nationalism, patriotism and the stability of the regime, there was a lack of training for democracy.

Various symbols of the Chinese nation-state are also found in the modern junior high school. These are intended to encourage pride and a feeling of belonging to the flow of Chinese civilization. No school is without a picture of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a national flag, and a morning ritual of patriotic, Sinophilic lectures and music (Smith, 1997: 67).

In 1972, the government banned the establishment of private elementary education and junior high school education (Yang, 1998:95). But according to Hsieh, et al. (1999:9), while compulsory education is mainly provided in public schools, at the non-compulsory level private schools and students outnumber their public counterparts, with the exception of senior high schools. There is not much difference between private and public schools or institutions in practice, due to the strict control exerted by the Ministry of Education over all of them. As Smith observes:

...all junior high schools in Taiwan have a standardized schedule and curriculum, [so] any one institution can be studied as representative of them all. Size, location, studentry, affluence of the parents, and settings (rural or urban) may differ; but the schools, which are programmed to be the same, can be expected to have nearly

¹⁴ After 1968, it was almost always 50 % at the hsien/county level (Huang, 1993:30).

identical learning environments and curricula. (Smith, 1997: 83)

The same also applies to the appearance of schools in Taiwan.

Most schools are quite similar in design. A large high stone wall or fence surrounds green lawns. The buildings open to an outdoor court in the center of the square building design which consists of classrooms, the library, dormitories, cafeteria, and book/supply store. This large field is used for morning lectures, sporting events, and various assemblies. (Smith, 1997: 117)

Within this common and uniform system, teaching tends to be a permanent job. Teacher training is provided in nine national teacher colleges and three national normal universities (see Glossary), and until 1994 no other colleges and universities were allowed to provide any teacher training programmes. Within the designated institutions, tuition was free, and the government was responsible for distributing the graduates all over the island. However, the Teacher Training Act of 1994 allowed other universities to set up teacher training courses, and since a monopoly of teacher supply no longer exists, the policy of free tuition has been abandoned and students have to look for jobs themselves upon graduation.

The basic pay scales for public school teachers are the same as those for civil service employees. On top of the basic pay, there is a research allowance, which makes the earnings of teachers slightly higher than those of ordinary civil service employees (See Appendix 1). Moreover, primary and junior high school teachers (Year 1 to 9) do not have to pay tax and they are entitled to a three-month vacation every year. Once they retire, they can still be paid around 80% of salary for the rest of their lives. It is rare for anyone to quit their job or apply for early retirement.

2.2.3 Centralised educational administration

Educational administration is organised on a three-tier system: the central, the provincial/municipal, and the county/city levels. At the top is the Ministry of Education; at the provincial/municipal level, a Department of Education; and at the County/city level, a Bureau of Education. Generally speaking, the central government (the Ministry of Education) is responsible for higher education; the provincial/municipal governments (Bureau of Education) for secondary education; and the county/city for elementary education¹⁵.

Smith (1997: 108) considered that ‘perhaps the arrangement of the Chinese family, with its patriarchal constellation of rule (which is reflected in the Chinese hierarchical government), is the fundamental reason why schools ...share a strong, centralised administrative organisation.’ Politics (anti-Communism) and the redundancy of the administrative system which resulted from the split with the mainland in 1949, further contributed to this bureaucratic and centralised system¹⁶.

According to Hsieh, et al. (1999:11), ‘although the distribution of power and responsibility should be balanced between the central and local levels in accordance with the ideals expressed in the Constitution, in fact power tends toward centralisation, due to

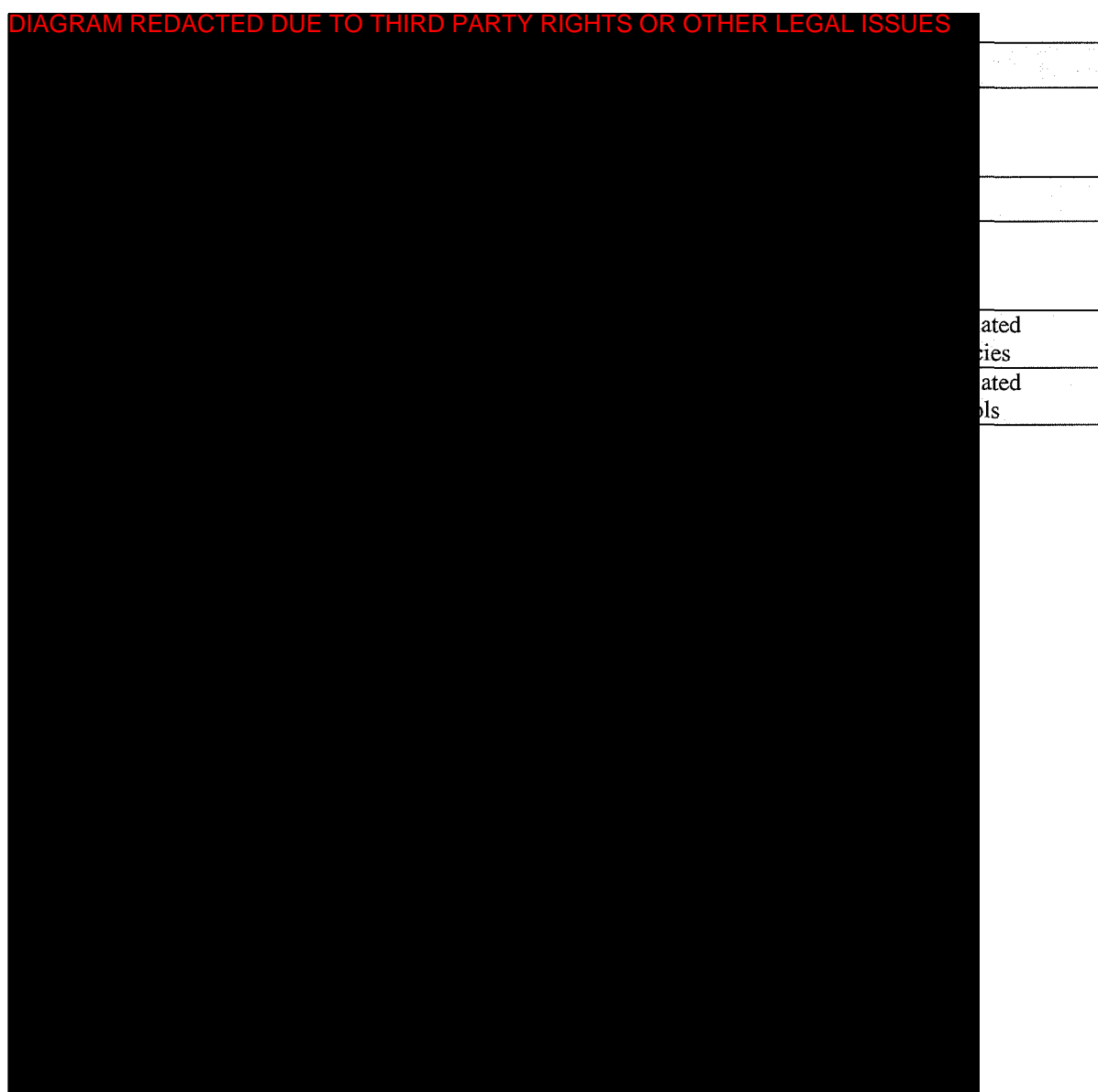
¹⁵ The situation changed in 1999 when the role of provincial government was minimised.

¹⁶ While in China, the Ministry of Education was in charge of 36 provinces, but after moving to Taiwan, its control was limited to one province, Taiwan, and several other small islands. This resulted in redundancy in educational administration and management, since there was both a Provincial Department of Education and a Ministry of Education.

the small area ruled by the central government following its relocation to Taiwan.’ However, the educational reform which started in the 90s, and which called for decentralisation and deregulation, has led to a decision by the central government to devolve power down to local educational authorities and schools. Since 1990, parents and teachers in the primary schools and junior high schools have begun to have more of a say in school-related matters.

An examination of the organisation of the Ministry of Education, the Bureau of Education in Taipei City and that of individual schools shows that the structures of all the organisations strongly resemble one another (See Diagrams 2-2, 2-3 and 2-4).

Diagram 2-2 Organisation of the Ministry of Education in Taiwan, 2001



Source: Ministry of Education (2001a:9)

Diagram 2-3 Organisation of Taipei Municipality Bureau of Education, 2001

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education (2001a:11)

Diagram 2-4 Provincial Pan-Chiao Junior High School in Taiwan, 2001

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education (2001a: 24)

There is also always an emphasis on students' military training and the ethics of teachers. Military training remains compulsory for both men and women students in senior high schools and universities. Furthermore, the personnel office at every level used to function as a surveillance agency for the KMT Party or the state, and teachers risked being reported if they said anything against the government.

2.2.4 The roles of principals and managers in Taiwan

Unlike head teachers in the UK and the United States, who usually apply for the headship of individual schools independently and are appointed in competition with other applicants, the selection and training of principals in Taiwan is highly centralised.

Taiwanese teachers need to accumulate certain teaching and management experience to become qualified to apply for the official examination for principals. The higher the degree the candidate holds, the fewer years of practical experience are required. To be a principal in a junior high school in Taiwan requires a university degree, teaching qualification, teaching experience, and management experience. Once they had the necessary experience and had passed the official principalship examination, teachers used to be distributed to schools by the central government; although now local governments and schools have been given more power to make their own choice. According to the Education Basic Law of 1999, school principals serve a term of only four years in each school, and the maximum in the same school is one additional term. Each county/city has to set up its own committee to choose principals from among people who are either

current principals, or who have been school principals, or who are qualified to become principals (Article 9).

According to Ministry of Education's 1997 regulations, any currently qualified primary or junior high school teacher who has worked for more than 5 years is eligible to apply for the principalship examination. However, teachers need to have other experience (with satisfactory performance) in order to apply¹⁷. At the lower levels of government, Taipei, Kaohsiung and Taiwan province have their own more detailed and specific regulations. But Lin's (1987) list comparing the processes of principals and middle managers selection in 1987 (see Appendix 2 and 3) shows they all basically follow the same principles, with only slight differences between the three. Even though the selection criteria have changed slightly as time goes by, it is only a matter of shifting emphasis between different criteria.

Most junior high school principals in Taiwan share similar educational backgrounds.

The average age for a middle school principal in Taiwan is about 50, and most have spent twenty years in public education. A majority have received all or part of their education at National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei (the leading teacher's college on the island), Kaohsiung Teachers University, or Taiwan Teacher College of Taichung. (Smith, 1997: 109)

Principals rarely directly support teaching or get involved in dealing with students' behaviour problems.

¹⁷ 1, a minimum three years of experience as a form tutor; or 2, a minimum of 2 years of experience as a junior manager; or 3, have worked at least 1 year as a junior manager and 2 years as a class tutor

The principal also symbolizes through his or her behavior and energy, to the school and society, the finer aspects of Chinese education. A principal, though given intensive workshop training to get the job, is not trained in managerial skills. Therefore his or her advice is of necessity subjective; the principal will generally be most comfortable giving orders or transmitting information from the Provincial Department of Education or the Ministry of Education (Smith, 1997:110).

There are usually six main offices in Taiwanese primary and secondary schools: teaching, discipline, guidance, general affairs, personnel and accounting (see Diagram 2-4). Except for the middle managers of Personnel and Accounting, who are actually civil servants¹⁸ appointed by local governments and not directly involved in teaching, other middle managers are usually teachers appointed by the principal. In general, the atmosphere in the disciplinary office is quite masculine as it is responsible for managing the behaviour of students, and staff encounter more confrontation with students in this office; while the office of guidance is usually quite feminine as it is related to student counseling and provides career consultation instead of punishment.

Although there is no obligation to teach once people become principals, junior and middle managers still have to do some hours of teaching, depending on the size of their schools. All of these are centrally regulated (see Diagram 2-5). But even if managers still do a certain amount of teaching, people nevertheless see them as being on a different career track, partly because managers and teachers usually work in separate offices, and partly because with the centralized curriculum, teachers usually work on their own without much discussion or meetings with managers or colleagues. On the other hand, there is only a limited management allowance for school managers. Therefore, it is fair to

¹⁸ Even though teachers are seen as civil servants in a general sense in Taiwan, 'civil servants' here means that they have passed the official examination for civil servants and have formal qualifications.

assume that salary is not a strong incentive for people to become managers.

Table 2-1 Hours of teaching per week for managers and teachers in junior high schools in Taiwan Province

DIAGRAM REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: Xie (1996:315)

In this highly centralized school system, teaching syllabi and textbooks are almost identical nationwide. Principals are not seen to make any direct decisions regarding teaching, and teachers usually get more immediate assistance with teaching materials and facilities from the office of teaching and the office of general affairs.

With democratisation two new organisations have emerged on campus alongside the management team: the Teachers' Association and Teachers' Appeal Senate. This has affected the balance of power.

- According to The Teachers Act, promulgated in 1995, Teachers' Associations (TAs) are organised on a three-tier system: at national, city/county and school levels. The TA in every school acts to safeguard teachers' professional autonomy, negotiate their contracts, help to solve problems related to education, encourage teacher self-discipline, etc. As a result, many schools have formed their own school teachers associations; over half of 25 local administrative areas have local teachers' associations; and the National Teacher Association was formed in February 1999 (Law, 2002).

- The Teacher Appeal Senates (TASs), which appeared at the same time, are also organised on a three-tier system: at national, city/county and school levels. The purpose of this organisation is to ensure that teachers' rights are protected. School principals are 'not allowed' to become the chair of the TAS, though they can choose to be part of the team. The number of Senate members should be between 15 and 21. At the school level, the number of the members who are teachers (non-managers) should be no less than two thirds. This signifies the increasing power of teachers. This has meant that since 1995 school teachers have had more power over personnel decisions which were formerly exclusive to the principal.

Now the principal has the nominal power to appoint teachers but no power to select them and renew their contracts. The power is transferred to the teachers review committee¹⁹ (TRC) comprising teachers' representatives, school management representatives and one parents' representative. (Law, 2002: 71)

The establishment of these two organizations, together with the increasing involvement of parents in school decision-making, has changed the culture of school management dramatically.

What is tricky about these organisations, in particular the TA, is that the government actually sets detailed regulations about their functions and purposes, and has formally made it part of the school system, which may not necessarily be good for the association. Since not every schools' staff necessarily feels the need to have a TA on their campus, (see, for instance, School 6 in this thesis), it is possible for the principal and middle managers to set one up. The main function of TA in many schools is simply that of organizing recreational and charity events. But principals have to be prepared for the

¹⁹ Teachers review committee (TRC) and teacher appeal senate (TAS) are the same organization.

associations they founded to turn against them later. Article 28 in the Teacher Act²⁰ suggests that principals may find the nature of these organisations sometimes disagreeable.

The power of the principals is further and more seriously limited by this new appointment system.

From 2000, all new principals of public schools must go through written examination and selection by the committees organized by the respective education authorities. The selection committees must comprise at least one-fifth parents, whilst the rest must represent teachers, school administrators and experts. Serving principals seeking reappointment need not retake written examination, but are required to go through the selection process and be approved by their teachers' association and parents' associations. If they fail, these serving principals are forced to be 'demoted' to ordinary teachers, or to find a new principalship in another school. (Law, 2002: 71)

In sum, the school principal in Taiwan actually functions as a middle manager in this centralised system. Since they are selected and appointed by the government rather than by the individual school, principals are hardly likely to question policies made by the government. During my interviews, most principals in junior high school referred to the officials in the local educational authority as their superiors, since they had been selected by them and their performance was under their supervision. If their performance is deemed to be satisfactory, or if they co-operate with the educational projects or events held by the local educational authorities²¹, they can move to bigger schools or be

²⁰ Schools are not allowed to recruit teachers on the condition of whether they should or should not be involved in these teacher organizations. Schools cannot dismiss or refuse to recruit a teacher because of their involvement with these organizations (Article 28, Teacher Act).

²¹ For example, they may volunteer to do educational experiments in their schools or offer their campus for sports or cultural events held by local governments or the local educational authorities.

promoted to be principal of a senior high school.

This shows that the role of principals is now changing very quickly in Taiwan as the educational system is being decentralised. However, it is a top-down reform as most policies are initiated by the central government. Most power is also being passed from the government to teachers directly. In the following section, various cultural factors will be introduced fully to illustrate how they may affect the application of democratisation to schools in Taiwan.

2.3 Cultural influences

Confucianism has had a strong influence on many aspects of Chinese society, including education, politics and the formation of Chinese culture. In this respect, the Taiwanese school is no exception.

Incidentally, every high school that I visited had a statue or large painting of Confucius at its entrance or interior hall. The moral and ethical implications of this symbol represent well the general tone of the academic atmosphere that is developed. (Smith, 1997: 43)

As Confucius left no written record, we depend on his students and their students for an account of the sage's life and ideas, i.e. the *Four Books of Learning* and *Analects* (written by his disciples). To understand this philosophy, it is necessary to look at the political and social situation in his time. Confucius (551-479 BCE) was born at a time of political upheaval. He saw that people suffered and that the society was in chaos, and he concluded

that people suffered because of the immorality of the rulers. To improve society and people's lives, he led his students to visit many states, and tried to tell warlords how to be good politicians, to regain peace and bring welfare to people. Confucius was actually not the first person to advocate what we now call 'Confucianism', but he was the first person to edit and integrate the ideas of former scholars and traditions, which were suitable to the old agricultural Chinese society, and to strengthen the influence of those traditions on politics, society and education. Even before Confucius, the aim of education in China was to train people to be intellectuals and work for the government.

The meaning of Confucianism is ambiguous. In fact, Confucian scholars disagree amongst themselves on certain basic concepts. Scholars understand the very term to mean different things: thus Liu (1996) points out that 'it may refer to the philosophical tradition represented by Confucius and Mencius, or it may refer to the institutions and customs that emerged in the long course of Chinese history through the influence of Confucian thought. (p.92). DeGlopper (1995: 266) also argues in his study of a Taiwanese town that 'one finds little agreement on what that Confucian heritage actually consists of' and that 'some reviewers have taken to task authors for whom Confucianism becomes indistinguishable from traditionalism, from anything nonmodern, and from culture in general.'

Chang (2000) discusses the differences between the three schools of the most popular philosophy in China: Taoism, Legalism and Confucianism. Taoism explores the order between human beings and nature, and is concerned with keeping the two in harmony. It minimises the role of politics, and was popular among ordinary people. Legalism is concerned with building up a society with an order, and was popular among the ruling



class. Confucianism mediates between these two and is concerned with both harmony and order in society, which should be a moral society with an ethical order, believing in the role of government.

2.3.1 The main features of Confucianism

The main features of Confucianism are its emphasis on education, ethics and morality.

The emphasis on education

Confucian scholars are very positive about human nature. In other words, whether human beings are born to be good or evil, they believe in the power of education. Confucius' most important contribution can be found in the logical development of his ideas about education and government. He wanted to make his students into 'gentlemen'. However, there is no mention in his teaching of education for girls and women.

Confucius advocated the idea that education should be received by everybody, no matter whether they are clever or stupid. He promoted the belief that, 'in teaching, there should be no distinction of classes', which subsequently became, and continues to be, many Taiwanese teachers' motto. Poverty and humble birth should not act as barriers for people who wanted to study with him. The main responsibility of politicians, according to Confucius, was to educate people; and with education open to all, government should be conducted by the most able men of a nation (Sims, 1968).

There is nothing more pleasant in life than to pass on to others what one has learned for oneself (*Analects*, cited from Sims, 1968, p. 128).

According to Sims (1968: 33), Confucius's aim was to provide his students with an education that would be both moral and practical; an education that would teach them how to solve the daily problems of government, for he knew that most of his students would go into government service; and an education that would teach them why and in what manner their solutions could bring the greatest benefits to the people they served. For Confucius, 'the success of a teacher and the quality of his instruction were more related to his personal intellectual talents and moral behavior than to the intelligence of his students' (Smith, 1997: 51). But as only men were allowed to work for the government, women's education was ignored at this time.

This stress on education has resulted in an over-emphasis on degrees and qualifications in Taiwan. According to Yang (1998), in 1993, among 33 cabinet ministers, 19 of them held PhDs²² and 6 of them had been university principals (p. 88). Myers (1998: 43) also quotes a survey of Taiwan's top civil servants in 1995 that revealed that 70% held doctorates or master's degrees, mostly from abroad. This is a much higher educational level than their counterparts around the world.

Status ethics

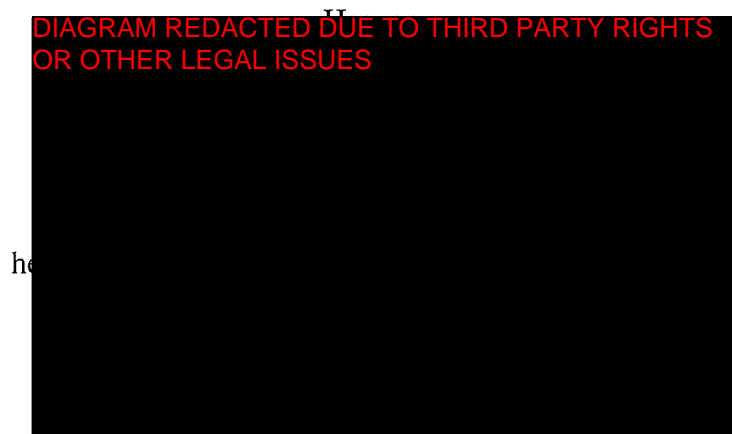
Central to Confucian teaching was a paradigm of relationships. The main function of his ethical system is to arrange relations between people. In Huang's (1988b) term, it is a 'status ethics.'

²² 2 from Japan, 2 from England and France, 14 from USA and 1 from Canada.

It arranged people's relationship with each other in such a way as to maintain the feudal social order: a kind of status ethic where one acts according to one's position and title and where one's position affects one's status, rights and responsibilities. 'Li' (ritual, manner, courtesy) is emphasised to keep order in society. Political ethics keep political order, so it is no wonder that the emperors adopted such beliefs. Confucianism was good for them. It protected them and maintained the status quo.

The concept 'family' is never separated from the discussion of 'gentlemen.' Confucius made a connection between family and government. 'In public, serve your government; in private, serve your family.' (*Analects*, cited from Sims, 1968: 31). Since the family is the basic unit of society, it is reflected in all aspects of society. In many ways, superiors still act as parents who tell their staff what is in their best interests; and the staff are also obedient.

Diagram 2-5: The Ideal Social Structure of Confucianism



ordinary citizens

Source: Wen (1988:57)

According to Wen (1988), the cultural ideals of Confucianism are that: at home,

everyone obeys their parents, while parents obey the head of the clan and heads obey the emperor. In society, intellectuals (literati) have to lead people, while intellectuals have to try to think like saints. In politics, citizens must obey the officials, while the emperor rules all. As one Chinese proverb puts it: 'Juniors and seniors have their ranking.' The whole Chinese system is constructed like a pyramid. At the top of the pyramid is heaven in the ideal, and the emperor in reality. This authoritarian structure combines politics, society and the family. As this kind of structure is an ideal system for the rulers, Confucianism was honoured and borrowed by emperors from the Han Dynasty onwards. All other schools of philosophy were abolished.

Tu (1996: 8) considers the classic Confucian vision that 'only when families are regulated are states governed.' This idea is still taken absolutely seriously in East Asian political culture. Tu further points out 'the idea of the state as an enlarged family may have lost much of its persuasiveness, but the metaphor of the family is widely present in all forms of social organisation' (p. 8). Hence probably due to this reason, I found many principals emphasised that they saw the school as a big family. Principals and teachers were eager to accept the role of 'parent' in relation to their students.

However, even though the state was seen as an enlarged family, women had no place outside their families in Confucian days. It was only men, the father figures, who were allowed to magnify their role outside their families.

Morality²³

Many virtues are mentioned consistently among Confucius and his followers. The ones most often mentioned are four ethical principles and eight cardinal virtues. The four ethical principles are *li* (courtesy and rite), *yi* (integrity and righteousness), *lian* (honest and uprightness), *che* (a sense of honour). The eight cardinal virtues are loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, credit, integrity, harmony and peace. According to Confucianism, rulers have to act as teachers to educate or influence the people. Therefore, we also see educational leadership being promoted by Confucianism.

If a government official is himself virtuous, the people will need few rules to guide them. If an official is not virtuous, the people will not obey even the strongest rules (Sims, 1968: 132).

High morality was Confucius's main concern in a good leader: being a saint and hence a good emperor. The morality of one person is the foundation for the ideal society. A gentleman should use his morality to influence people rather than relying on law. Once rulers have high morality, their influence on their people will be good.

Confucian scholars see personal morality as the foundation on which to construct an ideal political entity because they see politics as the extension of the family, and individuals as the basis of the family. Therefore, the process of Confucian politics starts from disciplining individuals, after that comes building up a good family, then one can rule a country and further conquer the whole world. That's why Confucianism emphasizes morality so much, both for scholars and for emperors. (Wang, 1998: 388, my translation)

²³ The difference between ethics and morality is not the focus here, though Haynes (1998:5) indicates that morality is often 'associated with personal life, particularly sexual habits and rules, while ethics is 'the philosophical study of morality, making it a higher order of reflection'.

As Confucianism stresses the leaders' morality, people expect leaders to be role models in all aspects of their life.

... if you act in a proper manner as a ruler, the people will act as proper subjects and you will have to kill none of them. If you act improperly, if you are not good yourself, the people will act badly no matter how many you kill. The actions of the ruler are like the wind and the actions of the people are like the grass. The grass bends in the direction that the wind blows. (Sims. 1968:74)

This emphasis on morality can be seen very clearly in school education. Regulated by the government since 1950s, most schools use the four ethical principles and eight cardinal virtues as their school motto and they can be seen displayed in auditoria, meeting rooms and classrooms. At all levels of school education, each week is given a different name according to these virtues, so that children will be reminded how to behave according to the virtue of the week. Students not only have to discuss their meanings and applications during the weekly class meeting, they also have to write on it in their weekly report²⁴. In their study of school effectiveness in East Asia, Cheng and Wong (1996:44) found school mottos often play an essential role in the shaping of a collective culture in Taiwanese schools.

Consolidation of political power

Because of Confucianism's emphasis on status ethics, many ancient Chinese emperors adapted it to consolidate their authority. It was especially emphasized from the Han

²⁴ Every junior and senior high school student is required to write a weekly report in Taiwan. It usually includes sections such as local and international news, books reviews and some reflection about their life during the week. These reports were supposed to be written in the form of calligraphy until the late 1980s.

Dynasty during the reign of *Wu Ti* (141- 87 BCE). *Wu Ti* listed the Confucian classics as subjects of study for his ministers, and appointed well-read scholars to professorships, called *Po-shih*, for each of the ‘ Five Classics’. Confucianism thus became the core of Chinese philosophy.

One of the main factors that contributed to the tradition of centralised educational system was the examination. Before the 20th century, the state’s direct involvement with learning was limited primarily to administering the examinations to be used for selecting government officials. The civil service examinations date from the Sui dynasty (CE. 581-618). Their content was limited mainly to classical Confucian ideology. Candidates were tested on how well they had memorized the Confucian classics and internalised the code of ethics embodied therein (Dreyer, 1993:36). The examinations did not test any special technical skills, they only tested whether or not the candidate had mastered the literary skills which were essential for becoming an official (Zhang, 1999: 209). The expertise of these people thus may not necessarily have matched the positions to which they were posted, and needless to say, women were completely excluded from these examinations (Dreyer, 1993:38).

They (the examinations) became the chief mechanism for bestowing local and informale elite status as well as for choosing government officials. Confucian learning, imperial power and bureaucratic authority were thus bound together in a mutually sustaining relationship that would dominate Chinese intellectual life until the examinations was abolished in 1905 and the imperial system was overthrown in the 1911 revolution (Pepper, 1996: 47).

However, taking the idea from Liu (1996), Tu (1996) warns that ‘Confucianism as the

symbol of a cultural ideal ought to be clearly differentiated from its actual embeddedness in social and political ideologies, institutions and practices' (p. 17) and considers 'they mislead because the politicization of Confucian values as a mechanism of ideological control, as in the case of the Han dynasty, is a profound distortion rather than a fulfillment of the moral ideals of Confucian and Mencian teaching' (p. 18).

Confucianism is nevertheless still related to the centralised educational policy of Taiwan, since the aim of its education is still to serve in government and to help fellow citizens to have a better life. Governments which adopt Confucian beliefs have to pay a great deal of attention to education, because of his optimistic belief that influence of education is the foundation of politics.

As the Taiwanese government deliberately combined Confucianism with strict ideological education in schools until the 1980s, it is not surprising that even today, much of educational leadership/management research and state educational policy in Taiwan refers to Confucius's doctrine (Yang, 1995).

Being a Chinese 'gentleman' [sic]

Examining how Confucius constructed his ideal model of a gentleman (or literati in Weber's term, in Gerth & Mills, 1997), shows how good educational leadership (for men) is defined in Taiwan.

The concept of a 'gentleman' was changed by Confucius. Previously, the term was only applied to men of the upper-class or rulers, but Confucius redefined the notion to mean

well-behaved men, no matter how rich or poor. He put a great deal of effort into discussing good leaders (rulers). The ideal character for a Chinese person is to be a saint, and to rule the people in this way. Confucius considered the purpose of being educated was to become a civil servant. Thus, being a *gentleman* became the most important purpose for being educated in China for thousands of years. Quoting from Menius, 'intellectuals (literati) should be officials just like farmers should farm the land', Wang (1998:386) concludes that working for the government is not only a career for intellectuals, but also an obligation. Therefore, the saying 'when one studies well; he should be an official' has been taken for granted by Chinese people since the time of Confucius. The formation of this gentlemanly ideal is based on a very scholarly and rigid training.

Puns, euphemisms, allusions to classical quotations, and a refined and purely literary intellectuality were considered the conversational ideal of the genteel man....(Weber, cited in Gerth and Mills, 1997: 437)

As a result, literati, gentleman and mandarin (official) mean almost the same group of people.

As a status group, the literati were privileged, even those who had only been examined but were not employed. (Weber, cited in Gerth and Mills, 1997: 434)

Furthermore, these mandarins were not required to be active at work.

It may appear strange to us that this sublimated 'salon' cultivation, tied to the classics, should enable man to administer large territories. And in fact, one did not manage the administration with mere poetry even in China. But the Chinese prebendary official proved his status quality, that is, his charisma, through the canonical correctness of his literary forms. ... On the other hand, the official had to prove his charisma by the 'harmonious' course of his administration; that is, there must be no disturbances caused by the restless spirits of nature or of men. The

actual administrative 'work' could rest on the shoulders of subordinate officials. (Weber, cited in Gerth and Mills, 1997: 437)

It was not deeds of officials that people were concerned about and admired, but their characters. The literati also believed that their ethical excellence came from their scholarly training.

...it was a firmly established belief among the literati that the spirits reward 'beneficence' in the sense of social and ethical excellence. Benevolence tempered by classical (canonical) beauty was therefore the goal of self-perfection. (cited from Gerth and Mills, 1997: 437)

Elite education thus became a feature of Confucianism, leading to the formation of an authoritarian form of leadership. As de Bary (1996:25) put it: 'Chinese education tended to be elitist in that at its upper levels it was increasingly channelled toward official recruitment, with limited opportunities at the top, and on the lower levels it was dominated by local elites.'

The belief that the highly educated should take on responsibilities entailing critical and positive participation in the exercise of government authority is central to Confucianism. Confucius and Mencius both asserted the obligation of the educated to offer counsel and service to the ruler. (Shils, 1996:48)

It seems that the Chinese prefer an authoritarian leadership style in which a benevolent and respected leader is not only considerate of his followers, but also able to take skilled and decisive action. (Bond and Hwang, 1986: 251)

On the other hand, a prominent model for Chinese leadership is also that of the wise and loving father (Bond, 1991: 78): a paternalistic style which fosters a supportive

relationship with subordinates. It also merges the personal and professional role.

The boss will have secured their loyalty by attending weddings, taking his section to lunch, visiting sick family members in hospital, securing a mortgage, hiring a junior's relative, and so forth (Bond, 1991: 83).

Since women have never been included in the concept of 'gentleman', it is hard for women to identify themselves with the notion.

In politics as in economics, hypermasculinity protects the patriarchal elite. It allows individual (male) leaders to maneuver contending ideologies and institutions for personal gain, as long as they conform to a traditional moral rhetoric about public life. Politicians in Taiwan, for example, manipulate the island's legacy of Confucian hegemony, Japanese colonialism, US liberalism, and local nativism/nationalism to simulate democratic politics, but they end up with 'sage men' politics anyway. This refers to the implicit belief of politicians and the public alike that only a wise man with the proper moral credentials can lead the nation. (Ling, 2000: 177)

Above all, Confucius emphasized the virtues of leaders. Laws and regulations played only secondary roles. To him, using morality to influence people was better than using law or regulations. His ideal leaders are not supposed to exercise a lot of control, but rather to guide people to follow them. Leaders should be sincere to their subordinates, polite and tolerant of their mistakes. The morality of a gentleman is the most important thing if he is to be able to lead people. This model certainly affects people's perception of principals in Taiwan, as Smith (1997: 111) notes: 'The role is that of a symbolic parental figure for students, teachers, and parents, and the position is held in great respect in Chinese society in Taiwan.'

2.3.2 The Impact of Confucian values on people's behaviour

Confucianism is a complex and sometimes even a contradictory philosophy²⁵, so most Chinese do not really know its details. But because of Confucianism, a social organism was established in Taiwan which continues to stress relations, saving face, connection, *bao* and *yuen* (see page 66 & 68). I would argue that the emphasis on ethics plays a major role in shaping the values of Chinese people and hence their behaviour.

Pursuit of harmony

Lee's (1998) study of the continuities between traditional Chinese view of the universe and modern enterprise behaviour notes an emphasis on harmony between time and space, between one's inside thoughts and outside behaviours, and between human beings and the supernatural world²⁶. Yang (1994) discusses a pursuit of harmonious existence between society (world) and individuals. Human beings and the world should be in a state of harmony, peace and balance. As the saying goes: 'mankind and everything in the world is one.' The instrument to achieve harmony between oneself and the universe is 'li'.

Taiwanese scholars Chu and Yang's experiment in 1976 found that in order to get the approval of society, Taiwanese students do not mind suffering some personal loss. When students do less well than others, they prefer the rewards being given according to individual performance; when they do better than others, they prefer sharing the rewards evenly. Chu and Yang conclude that this is because keeping the harmony of the group is

²⁵ Many Confucian disciples developed their own schools afterward.

²⁶ This was reflected in the popularity of fortune-telling, palm-reading, ancestor worship, and feng-sui at all levels of the societies.

more important than encouraging individual performance. (cited from Huang, 1988a:22).

The Chinese believe that the initiation of any kind of dispute is an invitation to chaos. In consequence they will avoid direct confrontation if possible, and arrange it indirectly if necessary (Bond, 1991: 65). Chang (1989) also holds the view that Chinese people have an 'order complex'. When Chinese civilised culture was beginning to form in the Warring States Period (770 - 221 BCE), society had been in chaos for 550 years. From then on, people were very sensitive to revolt, and if someone tried to promote reforms in radical ways, they were usually deemed to be 'trouble-makers'.

For Lee (1998), the pursuit of harmony is common to mandarins, scholars and ordinary people. For mandarins and scholars, it can be an abstract and sophisticated philosophy of the universe and it can also be transformed into principles and strategies to lead people. For ordinary people, it is transformed into guidelines for their daily life. Reflecting on daily life, Yang (2001) believes this means that the Chinese need to talk in obscure, indirect tones that can be interpreted in various ways, so that the society can emphasise harmony.

Act according to one's position

Confucianism arranges relationships between people and keeps order in society. Fei Hsiaotung (1948), a famous sociologist, suggests that Western society is based on emphasising collective structure, while the Chinese one is based on the order of a hierarchical structure. In this kind of society, individuals only exist as members of a community. It is only through membership of, and by having a defined position in, the

society that one gains an identity. The connections within a hierarchical structure are based on private networking. There is no need for a consistent and general community. In this kind of society, individuals are the centre of their own networks and the most important thing for them is not the well-being of the public, but the perfection of individual morality.

Parsons (1966) also considers that Chinese society encourages individuals to locate themselves according to the existing and pre-arranged social order, and to act accordingly (emperor and official; father and son; husband and wife). Chinese people judge others not according to their status and identity, but according to whether the person has fulfilled the duty and obligation of his/her particular network. They interact with people differently according to their positional relationship with them. Thus, showing ambition is not seen as appropriate in Chinese society.

Socially, situationally and relations orientated

Chinese people are usually seen as socially orientated, situation-centred or relations-centred. Yang (1994) considers that Chinese people conform to social expectations and that they care a lot about how other people think of them. The society rewards and encourages individuals who consider others. It is not collectivist, but de-individualist. Compared with Chinese people, Yang believes that the western societies encourage people to consider what they think and how they feel about themselves.

Chinese social orientation is very strong. Opinions from family and society are more important than one's own opinions, feelings and preferences. People act according to

their relationship with others, the status of the others and the occasion. In a big family, harmony is important. Individuals will suppress themselves to pursue harmony and blame themselves first before blaming others. One's *guanxi* (connection) is important because one's social relations are also indicators of one's status in Chinese society. Therefore, relationships which are based on blood-ties, adoptions, location, friendships, and teacher-pupils, school and university, etc. are conveniently used when necessary. Terms such as 'climbing connection' or 'pulling friendship' are used when people try to build up relationships with important people who are not related to them at all.

Yang (1981: 159) considers that consequences of the traditional Chinese concern for the reactions of others include:

...social conformity, non-offensive strategy, submission to social expectations, and worry about external opinions in an attempt to achieve one or more of the purposes of reward attainment, harmony maintenance, impression management, face protection, social acceptance, and avoidance of punishment, embarrassment, conflict, rejection, ridicule, and retaliation in a social situation.

However, another Taiwanese scholar - Yang (1994) -, disagrees. He thinks that Chinese are not collectivist so much as a kind of personalist: that the terms of '*social primacy*' and '*individual primacy*' capture the reality better.

Whatever the terminology, it can be concluded that individualism has never been encouraged in Chinese societies. Instead, people are required to consider others and the situation in order to fit in and to interact with others.

Authoritarian personality (Authoritarianism)

Probably because of the stress on status ethics, the so-called 'authoritarian personality' has become a feature of accounts of Chinese societies. Adorno (1950) created this term and developed a Fascism or Anti-Democratic Trends Scale which was borrowed and translated by various scholars and used to test the Chinese and other nationalities. The Chinese were found to score comparatively highly (Singh, Huang & Thompson, 1962; Meade & Whittaker, 1967). Following this, many studies in Taiwan in the 1970s used 'authoritarian personality' as a straightforward description of the personality of Chinese people (Ho and Lee, 1974; Lee and Yang, 1972). It is probably better to say simply that in the Chinese context people tend to follow customs, obey authority uncritically, and to be highly superstitious - i.e. to believe in fate and value power highly.

In her research on the environment for democratic education in primary schools during the transformation of authoritarian regimes, Peng's (1996) survey of 873 school staff (see Table 2-1) and their understanding of democracy, 81% of Taiwanese considered they 'understand it very well' or 'understand', and 19 % considered they did 'not understand' or 'not understand at all' (27% of women and 13% of men). But she also examined the issue of whether, as the authoritarian regime of the Nationalist was losing its grip, people dared to criticise the government and the ruling party in classes; and here over all, 38% ticked 'disagree' or 'disagree strongly' (32% men and 47% women) suggesting more women were frightened than did not understand. A third question, about how well they could express their own opinions in school meetings when their opinions were different from their superiors, showed an even higher proportion avoided speaking for fear of causing trouble (44 % of men and 63 % of women). The answers given also related to

people's positions at work.

Table 2.2 The Understanding of Democracy among School Staff in Taiwan

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: Peng's survey (1996)

The Chinese place a great deal of importance on authority and obedience. People interact with each other according to age, status and gender. You only know how to interact with someone after you can position each other. According to Yang (1988) one should distinguish (i) the authorisation of someone in a higher position; once someone becomes the authority, people should obey him/her under any condition; and (ii) the authorisation of social customs: people should do certain things at certain times and occasions so that the harmony of the group can be achieved and the society stabilised.

Sense of helplessness

Whether a relationship is good, bad or possible depends on *yuen* (pre-determination, fatalism). It is not up to individuals. *Yuen* can be positive or negative, with no attachment of responsibilities. This applies to marriage, brotherhood, relatives, friends...etc. One of

the influences on this belief came from Buddhism. The idea of *yuen* makes people take gains and loses more easily and makes them more tolerant when they are in a bad situation. Its good aspect is that people have less pressure to work things out in relationships; and the negative part is that people may become emotionally lazy and dependent.

Lu's (1998) study of the Chinese literature and poems concludes that Chinese intellectuals in the past were very passive in pursuing their careers. Many scholars used the relationships between men and their mistresses as the metaphor in poems which describe their powerless situation – waiting to be loved (to be appreciated and understood) and suffering from jealousy of other women.

Zhang Ji, a scholar in the Tang Dynasty, agreed to be one official's consultant and then another official made the same offer. Caught in the dilemma, he wrote this poem to the latter, describing himself as a *qei* [mistress]²⁷ that was attached to someone already.

Jun [gentleman /you] knows that I am married; Still you sent *qei* [mistress/me] a pair of pearls as gifts; Felt your affection; Tied them on my skirt.... Returned pearls with tears; Wish we met before I am married. (*The Song of a Chaste Woman*)

In the Sung Dynasty, another famous scholar, Chen Shidao, wrote the poem *The Qei's [Mistress's /My] Misfortune*, mourning the death of a famous scholar who appreciated and recognised his talents. In appearance, the woman felt she lost the meaning of life

²⁷ Chinese characters usually have multi-meanings. The meaning of a character depends on the context or the characters next to each other. For instance, the word '*Jun*' can mean 'gentleman', or 'you' when addressing someone in a respectful way. '*Qei*' can mean 'mistress', or a woman can use it of herself in a humble way while talking to men.

because of the death of her husband and she was considering committing suicide to follow him. According to Lu (1998:414), there is a long tradition in China of scholars comparing themselves with women, and this phenomenon has not disappeared. Many masterpieces have been produced in relation to this, and the critics of all generations were so used to it that they did not realise it had any significance. However, if one does reflect on why scholars used this metaphor for more than 2000 years, it shows the literati actually shared the same fate as women. How they fulfilled their life was not up to them, they needed to wait passively to be appreciated and promoted. In the Tang Dynasty, literati tended to compare themselves with the ladies in the palace. As there were usually thousands of them, it was very difficult to be loved by the emperor (Lu, 1998:416). According to the Confucian ideal, literati are the generators of the ideal politics. But in real life, many passed their life meaninglessly in this huge system. Therefore, *ren* (endurance, patience and to bear) is emphasised. Lu concludes that literati and 'beauties in the palace' usually shared the same fate of being left alone and not appreciated (p. 417).

Bao (repay, reward, revenge, deserving, reciprocate, retribution) is another important concept used to explain one's situation and to ask people to be grateful and to accept the way things are. When receiving a favour, people always expect to return it one way or another, as does the one who offers it. *Bao* can also be used as revenge or consequence: as the saying goes: 'Good deeds will lead to good rewards; bad deeds will lead to punishment.'

It is of course impossible to give an account of the complex thinking and actions of all members of the society simply by using a series of simple concepts. As Yang proposes (2001: 35), we need a more thorough understanding of the relationship between culture

and the individual. The concepts are none the less indicative, for a Western reader, of some of the significant differences between Chinese and Western cultures.

2.4 The growing interest in democracy and the compatibility of Chinese culture and democratisation

2.4.1 The growth of interest in democracy

The concept of democracy has become a critical issue in Taiwanese society as it goes through political change and as the national identity of its people has come to be seen as a problem. I found Wachman's (1994) interpretation of how democracy was formed and applied in Taiwan and the difficulties in the process fully illustrates the situation. Since mainland is still a one-party regime, the term 'democracy' is widely used in Taiwan in order to negotiate its future with China. As the political analyst, Michael Wu proclaims: 'Thank God! Democratisation in Taiwan right now is a strategy to deal with China' (Sheridan, 1999: 162).

Beijing does not like our democratisation because it proves the falseness of their claims that the Chinese do not suit democracy – all this stuff about Asian values, you know, the idea that there is a Chinese way and it is not a democratic way. (Su Chi, the ex vice-chairman of Taiwan's Mainland Affair Council, in Sheridan, 1999:161)

Talking about democratisation in East Asia, Chan (2000) has found:

Their democratic progress was more a by-product of this achievement than its initial inspiration. In economics as well as politics, the relevant endeavors were orchestrated by the ruling elites, who were initially more motivated by concerns

with national security and competition with communist rivals than any commitment to mass sovereignty. These were, by and large, reforms undertaken by initiatives from above rather than due to pressure from below. (Chan, 2000: 184)

In Taiwan, the two major political parties both emphasise democracy to justify their ultimate political goals. However, it is interesting that their adaptation of the concept leads them towards completely different directions and conclusions. Ex-ruling party (KMT, Nationalist) members who retreated to Taiwan after 1949, see democracy not only as a means 'to re-established the party's sagging legitimacy' (Wachman, 1994:160), but also a way to negotiate with China.

The way the government views the situation now is if Taiwan becomes 'truly democratic, economically free, and socially pluralistic', it will be so 'full of vitality' that it will be able to bargain with the mainland for better terms when the 'final day of reckoning' arrives. Shaw [a minister] said that 'we may be militarily weak, but we must be politically strong.' (Wachman, 1994: 73)

On the other hand, for the current ruling party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), established in 1987, democracy is a means by which to promote independence for Taiwan.

The DPP's approach to opposition at that time was to emphasize the importance of 'self-determination' as a means to create a democratic Taiwan and to realise the party's nationalistic goals. Still, it was clear that democracy and self-determination were a means to another end: Taiwan independence. For this reason, the party advocated visible street protests as a way to shake up the people of Taiwan and disabuse them of the 'false consciousness' of viewing Taiwan as a part of China with which they had all been so thoroughly indoctrinated by the KMT. (Wachman, 1994: 148)

(T)here is good reason to believe that many Taiwanese concur with what Chen Shui-Pian²⁸ stated rather explicitly: 'Democracy is the process and independence is the goal.' (Wachman, 1994: 162)

Therefore, democratisation is viewed as the 'politically correct' direction to go in at the moment. As to how democracy was implemented in Taiwan, I agree with Wachman's view that a system was installed first before most people were ready for it. He took this view from Rustow (1970).

...that to bring about democracy it is not necessary to 'foster democrats' by 'preachment, propaganda, education, or as an automatic by product of growing prosperity.' He [Rustow] believes that it is possible to force, trick, lure or cajole non-democrats into 'democratic behavior' and that their attitudes and belief will be brought around in due course. This is an argument for the establishment of democratic procedures; a sense that one becomes democratic by acting democratic. This is precisely how democracy came about on Taiwan. (Wachman, 1994: 39)

Holding elections can be seen as one example. After an extensive series of surveys following the 1983 and 1986 elections of lawmakers, Hu Fo and Chu Yun-Han came to the conclusion that:

...elections for national lawmakers not only have increasingly acquired the normal function of popular accountability and system legitimization in a representative democracy, but in the transition they actually functioned as a catalyst of democratization (cited from Wachman, 1994: 158-9).

Wachman then concludes (1994: 161-2) that:

...it certainly seems that many on Taiwan believe that by designing a system that

²⁸ The new President of Taiwan in 2000

appears more democratic, they will turn Taiwan into a democracy even if the habits and values associated with democracy have not yet been well established. Democracy is almost always discussed as a way to alter the balance of power among the political elite.

Thus, democratisation in Taiwan has been an example of a top-down reform: in the words of Chan (2000), reforms have been undertaken by initiatives from above rather than due to pressure from below (p. 184). Consequently, both educational reforms and women's movements in Taiwan are affected.

2.4.2 The compatibility of Chinese culture and democratisation

Can democracy be planted easily in Taiwan schools? To answer the question, it is necessary to understand to what extent people are ready for democracy in Taiwan; and according to Huntington (1996,14), one argument 'holds that certain non-Western cultures are peculiarly hostile to democracy. The two cultures most often cited in this regard are Confucianism and Islam.'

Since the Nationalist government retreat to Taiwan in 1949, the government has been very firm in enhancing Chinese cultural identity among its people. An obviously political reason was that: 'As the Communist government in China has endeavoured to establish "a new socialist China," the government on the other side of the Taiwan strait has made equal, if not more, effort to restore the Chinese cultural heritage in order to manifest its culturally orthodox status.' (Young, 1999: 125). It is under this cultural policy that schooling aims to enhance cultural identity among youngsters. Core values of traditional Chinese culture such as loyalty, filial piety, prudence, humbleness, obedience,

collectivism, and authoritarianism are repeatedly emphasised in school textbooks (p. 126).

The main conflicts between democracy and Confucianism seem to be to do with the concepts of achieving harmony, valuing loyalty and the dislike of disorder and uncertainty within Confucianism. Huntington (1996:15) points out that, ‘almost no scholarly disagreement exists regarding the proposition that traditional Confucianism was either undemocratic or antidemocratic.’

Classic Chinese Confucianism and its derivatives in Korea, Vietnam, Singapore, Taiwan, and (in diluted fashion) Japan emphasized the group over the individual, authority over liberty, and responsibilities over rights. Confucian societies lacked a tradition of rights against the state; to the extent that individual rights did exist, they were created by the state. Harmony and cooperation were preferred over disagreement and competition. The maintenance of order and respect for hierarchy were central values. The conflict of ideas, groups, and parties was viewed as dangerous and illegitimate. Most important, Confucianism merged society and the state and provided no legitimacy for autonomous social institutions at the national level. (Huntington, 1996: 15)

The emphasis on loyalty and ethics is another issue. Hodous (1924:15) argued that the ‘Confucian system of ethics lies in its sectional and personal loyalties and its monarchical basis. The spirit of democracy is a deadly foe to Confucianism. Another element of weakness is its excessive dependence of the past.’ Huang (1999:142-143) examines the relationship between Confucianism and democratic politics and stresses that in the traditional ideal Chinese political system, politics is not about the interplay of power and interest, but a place for moral concerns. Politics is for the moral benefit of the people, and people should be ruled by an ideal moral leader. Huang thus holds the view that

traditional Chinese politics are not about democracy, but ethocracy.

Wachman (1994) quotes DPP member Yao Chia-wen:

[B]asically Chinese culture is a controlling culture, not a democratic, not a free, not a equal [one]. Chiang Kai-Shek said it was an ethical system [but] ethical is not equal. Enforced conformity and strict maintenance of public order has been justified over the years by a perversion of Confucian values. Challenging authority, basing policy on the expressed will of the governed, institutionalizing regular methods for the citizenry to select its ruling figures and bodies, and the host of freedoms, rights, and privileges associated with democracy are not natural outcomes of the political and social values that have prevailed in Chinese communities (p. 239).

Moreover, Wachman believes that the Chinese are comparatively intolerant of some forms of disorder.

For a regime that is rooted in a culture of authority such as the Chinese, dislodging long-held notions about order, and weaning power holders and citizenry from their habitual diet of certainty, is an exceedingly ambitious project. By comparison, it is relatively simple to rewrite the constitution and basic laws, redesign the structure of government, and impose new procedures for decision making. It will be more difficult to have people accept a system in which uncertainty about outcomes is regularized. (Wachman, 1994: 38)

Even if, as Huntington (1996) believes, there are strong cultural obstacles to democratisation in Confucian societies, he doubts whether these must prevent democratic development. He uses the example of some scholars seeing Confucianism as a major cause of the spectacular economic growth of East Asian societies in the 1980s. This is very different from Weber's view of Confucianism as the reason why capitalism did not appear in China. Huntington (1996:21) thus asks: 'In the longer run, will the thesis that Confucianism prevents democratic development be more viable than the thesis that

Confucianism prevents economic development?' He also argues that great cultural traditions like Islam and Confucianism are highly complex bodies of ideas, beliefs, doctrines, assumptions, and behaviour pattern. He believes that:

Any major culture, including Confucianism, has some elements that are compatible with democracy, just as both Protestantism and Catholicism have elements that are clearly undemocratic. Confucian democracy may be a contradiction in terms but democracy in a Confucian society needs not to be. The real question is, which elements of Confucianism are favourable to democracy? and how and under what circumstance can these supersede the undemocratic aspects of those cultural traditions. (p. 21)

Finally, Huntington also sees cultures as historically dynamic, not stagnant. The dominant beliefs and attitudes in a society change. While maintaining elements of continuity, the prevailing culture of a society in one generation may differ significantly from what it was one or two generations earlier.

King (1994a) notices that the influence of Confucianism seems to be diminished due to rapid economic development, and he concludes that 'Taiwan has tended toward a pluralistic polity and away from a dutiful, disciplined Confucian society which defers to government authority' (p. 241). However, having once been the base from which to promote Confucianism, the influence of Confucianism in schools remains strong.

On the other hand, some may argue that classical Confucianism gets its bad name from having been used and misappropriated, misused and expurgated. Confucianism actually promotes the concept 'for the people' instead of 'by the people'. Some early scholars like Mencius actually believed 'government is the means by which the great man brings his

nature to bear on his fellow men'. So the first concern of all rulers is to satisfy the needs of the people. He also pointed out that 'the commonality is the most important element in a state. The ruler is a servant of the people, whose duty to obey him lasts only so long as he serves them well' (Government Information Office, 1992:556).

...Mencius explicates this sentiment: 'Heaven looks as our people look; Heaven listens as our people listen'; the people are the ears, the eyes, and the mouth of Heaven.' And so, the very survival of the sovereign depends on the consent of the people. This sovereign-subject reciprocity is radically democratic to the point of being revolutionary. (Huang and Wu, 1994: 73)

For this reason, one may well expect that the implementation of democracy in schools in Taiwan may encounter much resistance from school staff due to the rigid bureaucratic system. Also the doctrines of Confucianism are well taught in schools and even the high social status of teachers may also appear as a problem, for teachers rarely challenge others and they are themselves rarely challenged. In other words, they will certainly be affected by school democratisation, but without knowing what is in store for them.

2-5 Conclusion

Democracy has become a key issue in Taiwan due to its colonial past. At the present moment, it has also further become a strategy to deal with China. As Taiwan is a highly political society, democratisation is bound to affect school education. School administration and management in Taiwan was previously highly centralized, but it has gradually been decentralized. The revision of principal selection and the emergence of TAs and TASs are all the products of democratisation, though this reform can be

described as top-down reform. It is highly possible that the Confucian values which stressed harmony, acting according to one's position and the authoritarian personality may be contradicted by democracy and this will make school democratisation a difficult task. School staffs' values may prove hard to change. I shall explore this in full in Chapter Six, Seven and Eight.

Further, the very concepts of 'gentleman' and 'mandarin' exclude women. In the following chapter, issues related to Confucianism and women will be discussed in order to explore women's status, education and careers as school teachers and managers in contemporary Taiwan, and I shall argue that these are the products of politics and Chinese cultures.

Chapter 3: Women in Taiwan

To understand women principals in Taiwan, it is necessary to review women's status in general in Taiwanese society, and the education and the positions of woman teachers. Women in both China and Taiwan have been expected to act strictly according to the needs of their countries and their families until very recently. The rigid Confucian culture has greatly restricted women's education and their career development. However, just as there have been de-regulation and decentralisation of the education system in Taiwan, so the political changes in China and Taiwan have improved the status of women. For this reason, women are now able to gain certain advantages, though they also have to be beware of certain traps.

The third part of this chapter looks at Taiwanese women's educational opportunities/ attainment and the different career paths of men and women teachers in society today. Teaching is considered an ideal job for Taiwanese women though it is usually an unplanned life-long career. However, women are not encouraged to become managers both because culturally they are reluctant to out-perform their husbands and also because they have a great deal of domestic responsibility at home. Other factors which also constrain women's advancement will be considered in later chapters.

3.1 The Changing status of Taiwanese women

3.1.1 Confucianism and women

Confucianism has had a tremendous impact on Chinese women. Since Confucius declared that 'women and small-minded people are difficult to care for', the thinking that men are superior to women has seeped into and affected all aspects of social life (Lin, 2000: 16). According to Fang (2000),

After Confucianism gained ascendancy in the Han Dynasty²⁹ (see page 50 – the consolidation of political power), the demands on the feminine gender put forward by the Confucian code of ethics became more explicit and institutionalized (p. 7).

As noted in the previous chapter, according to Confucianism, the family is the primary unit of the social system and should be the ideal foundation of an orderly state.

Between father and son there should be affection, between ruler and minister there should be righteousness, between husband and wife there should be attention to their separate functions, between elder and younger brothers there should be order, between friends there should be good faith. (Jayawardena, 1986: 170)

Significantly, three of these relationships are within the sphere of the family and they helped to condition the role of women in Chinese society. However, as Jayawardena (1986:170) further indicates:

While Confucianists argued that this envisaged the equality of man and woman,

²⁹ Han Dynasty (206 BCE – CE 220)

each being supreme in his or her separate area of activity, in reality it hid the existence of double standards for men and women. It meant that the public sphere was for men and that women were restricted to strictly domestic functions.

The confinement of women to the domestic sphere was further reinforced by the concern for, or almost obsession with, the preservation of their virtue, honour and chastity (Croll, 1978:16). Moreover, women's physical mobility was seriously restricted by the practice of footbinding.

The practice is said to date from the fashion of small bowed feet current among the court dancing girls in the tenth century. This custom was first practised among the upper classes, but because bound feet were then associated with wealth and status they eventually became an essential prerequisite to an advantageous marriage and any form of social mobility. (Croll, 1978:18)

Control of marriage was usually not in women's hands in the traditional Chinese family. As Johnson (1976) points out, the control of family heads can be seen through their arrangement of blind marriage without consulting their children. The young people usually never met or saw each other until at or near the marriage ceremony (Johnson, 1976). According to Croll (1978):

Young women were taught to exercise forbearance and self-sacrifice and accept their fate. Such sayings as 'Obey heaven and follow fate' and 'When you marry a chicken, stick with a chicken; when you marry a dog, stick with a dog', were constantly used to remind her that her 'rice was cooked'. The term for divorce, which literally meant 'oust wife', closely reflected the unilateral nature of divorce. (p.28)

A woman started to gain status and respect when she bore sons. If a woman

misfortunately became a widow, she would be expected to remain eternally chaste. There are many monumental arches lining the roads to honour the virtues of these faithful widows. A woman's prestige in the family increased immeasurably once she had given birth to a son and heir. Further, as women grew older, they enjoyed increasing advantages. Croll (1978: 30) considers that: 'The old mother and grandmother were greatly respected and the old matriarchal figure at the head of the household is a familiar enough person in Chinese literature.' However, according to Lu (1990, 24), Chinese women are always marginal members of the family system. Even when they are married or bear children, they do not possess any identity beyond the context of 'wife and mother' in their husband's family. There were no women's rights, only mothers' rights in China. This implies that women were not only dependent on men for financial support, but also had little autonomy to make critical decisions in their lives.

Chinese women were given education for a totally different purpose from men. Men received education in order to become officials; but women were excluded from taking the official examination. A book appeared that specialized on the education of girls, *Nu Jie* (Admonishment for Women). The set of criteria for the behaviour of women, written by *Ban Zhao*, a well-known woman scholar, was an explicit exposition of the ethical stands known as the Three Obediences and Four Virtues. They are: 'obedience to her father before marriage, obedience to her husband during married life and obedience to her sons in widowhood, and feudal virtues of fidelity, physical charm, propriety in speech, and efficiency in needlework' (Fang, 2000: 7).

Some women of noble, landlord families and the families of officials could learn to read and write at home under private tutors and be taught the ethic code of 'three

obedience and four virtues' which governed the specific implementation of the principles of 'husband guides wife', so that women willingly subjected themselves to their husbands' dominance... A woman's worth in life was to 'assist her husband and teach her son', so the aim of her education was to raise her ability to serve her husband and to raise her son. In ancient China the more education a woman received, the more spiritually and psychologically submissive she became, the more willingly she accepted her position of dependence on her husband, and the less human dignity she retained (Wei, 1995:12).

Not surprisingly, there were always strong expectations about the different duties of men and women in the Chinese society. Men were supposed to be the main breadwinners, while women's priority was supposed to be in the family – domestic work, childcare and care for the elderly. Women's identities were always related to their being mothers, wives and daughters. Ambitious and capable women were often devalued³⁰.

Confucianism played a key role in this oppression of women in China. According to Hong (1997:5), Confucianism 'advocated a strict and inflexible social hierarchy by emphasising the static social roles of different categories of people and especially of women in their relationship to men.' Under such circumstances, women were confined to a subordinate position. Women's education consequently taught women total submission to men. Physical constraints, in particular footbinding, served as a practical means to confine women to the home.

Recently, more and more Confucian scholars (i.e. Woo, 1998; Li, 2000) try to deal with feminist challenges and to address feminist concerns and eventually to come to terms

³⁰ The few Chinese empresses (widowers) in the Han, Tan and Ching dynasties gained power after the emperors died and while their sons were too young to govern the country. They are often described as evil and causing turmoil (Lu, 1989: 4).

with feminism. However, a full exploration of such work is beyond the scope of this thesis.

3.1.2 Women's work and lives in contemporary Taiwan

Women are still not treated as equal to men in Taiwan though the Constitution promises that every citizen, man and woman, will be treated equally under the law. A person's ethnicity or gender shall not influence her rights: to life, to work, to property, to participate in politics, and to protect her own freedom. Unfortunately, sex discrimination still exists in society because of traditional patriarchal views and social structures. It is fair to say that women in Taiwan have been asked to cooperate with the government's policies in terms of childbirth, economic production and domestic work, and that the primary reason for women's participation in political elections was not for themselves but for their husbands' sake. The following sections explain this unequal situation.

Population and Family

Taiwan is an island of high population density and it has become highly urbanized since the 1970s. In 1993, the percentage of urban people in Taiwan was 77% (Chang, 2000:4). In 2000, the ratio of men to women was 105/100. Because two-thirds of the island is mountainous, the population is crowded onto the western plains, giving Taiwan a population density of 612 people per sq. km, second in the world after Bangladesh.

According to Farris (2000), the modernization process in Taiwan has resulted in urbanization, smaller families, and more nuclear family patterns. In her observation of

Taiwanese women in post-war years, she considers that although there has been much change to relations among family members, 'there is also a continuity of Chinese values regarding masculinity and femininity – notably, the ideal of a "virtuous wife and good mother"' (p. 157). Even for working women, social modes still indicate that they take primary responsibility for housework and child care. The same applies in rural areas but:

...although traditional values and customs regarding women remain strong in many ways, here too modernization has had a significant impact. Young women typically have a junior high school education and often work in rural industries. Because they contribute to the family purse, they usually have more say in family decisionmaking than their mother's generation did. Although parents still have an important role in marriage decisions, rural couples may certainly veto any choice with which they do not agree (Farris, 2000:160).

Class, as a variant, is not addressed in a classical way in the present thesis because, as Gold, (1994, 1998) - a professor at University of California, Berkeley - notes, 'Taiwan's social class is so characterised by fluidity and dynamism that it is extremely difficult to capture it statistically or delineate sharp, longstanding cleavages' (Gold, 1998:56). Instead, he considers many individuals and families in Taiwan occupy 'contradictory class locations' (p.56) at any one time. According to him (1994), official labour statistics rarely show the reality:

Objectively, to be sure, Taiwan has a large proletariat; but with rapid labor turnover rates among enterprises, and steady passage through the class to the petty bourgeoisie, only a small portion of workers stays around long enough to cultivate what might be termed a proletarian world view. In addition, many Taiwanese occupy more than one class position. There are part-time farmers who operate factories, factory workers who own assembly subcontracting workshops and white collar workers who help out in the family enterprise. 'Objectively', how can

they be pigeonholed accurately? What are their 'objective' class interests? (p. 50-51)

The rapid improvement of people's economic status means most of Taiwan's proletarians do not see themselves as lifetime industrial workers (Gold, 1998:58), but as petty capitalists. At the same time, Taiwan achieves a remarkable record of relatively equitable income distribution (Gold, 1998: 58). Tight political control further ensures that class, as a factor, will not disrupt the economic development of the nation. 'Add to this the party-state's tight repression of the labor movement, and it is no wonder that Taiwan's proletariat lacks class consciousness' (Gold, 1994:50). Again, a full discussion of social class, as well as gender, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Women and Health

Like most 'developed' societies in the world, Taiwanese women's life expectancy is higher than men's. For example, in 2000 women's expectancy was 78.44 years, while men's was only 72.67 years. Taiwan has had an active family planning and birth control programme since 1959 (officially since 1968), and although there is no limit on children per couple, it has reduced to a fertility rate of 1.86. Since 1984, the birth rate has fallen below replacement level, prompting the government in May 1995 to urge people to marry earlier and raise the birth rate back to two children per couple (Gold, 1998:48). However, the achievement of birth control has been at the expense of Taiwanese women's health. The Law of Eugenic and Health Protection, enacted in 1984, broadens the medical purposes for legal abortion, from prevention of damage to the mothers' life to the protection of women's psychological and physical health. This is a great conceptual leap, but the design and execution of the new law still carries old concepts that are unfriendly to

women³¹.

Labours' Insurance started in 1950, but did not protect non-employed people, especially women. Starting in 1995, a Universal Medical Insurance system opened its door to all women, so women who work at home tending to the family are now covered.

The Economic Contribution of Women

Women have contributed much to Taiwan's economic development as their rate of participation in paid work has reached 45% since 1986 (Ku, 1986). But although this seems low when compared with European countries and other East Asian countries (see Table 3-1), in reality, it is difficult to estimate the real employment rate, because the majority of business companies in Taiwan are small and medium enterprises (SMEs)³². Many women may help in their family's business, and the statistics do not show this. Scholars have found that the productive and marketing network of these enterprises in Taiwan are dependent on the family network, which is a network of emotions and relationships, and within this women are a binding force (Yam Women Web). The plentiful and cheap labour force has attracted many foreign businessmen to invest in Taiwan.

The abundant and ready supply of young women working as cheap labourers was especially crucial in the early stage of state-encouraged low value-added assembly of goods for export. Women are more likely than men to be employees rather than employers, and to engage in unpaid labour. (Gold: 1998:58)

³¹ For example: the medical care system in Taiwan only pays full attention to women's bodies for childbirth and child raising, and seldom puts the needs of women's bodies as a first priority. Therefore, the target population for birth control is only women; a woman needs her husband's approval to have an abortion; and a high proportion of women have a hysterectomy. (*Yam Women Web*)

³² In 1993, there were 934,588 medium and small enterprises, accounting for 97% of all enterprises. (Gold, 1998: 59)

Table 3-1 Women's Employment Participation Rate by Nationality in 1999, Percentages

Countries	Taiwan	S. Korea	France	Germany	Hong Kong	Japan	Singapore	UK	USA
Percentage	46	47	48	48	49	50	53	55	60

Source: DGBAS: National Statistics (2001)

However, there is a great deal of gender discrimination in the labour market. Women's income is only 74 % of what men earn (DGBAS: National Statistics, 2001). One of the most notorious practices was the so-called "contract for single female employee" or "article of forbidden bearing", that forced women employees to quit "voluntarily" after getting married or becoming pregnant. Moreover, the labour industry has been under great pressure since 1987 due to cost increases and competition with other economies. Many industries have shut down, moved to where manpower is cheaper (like mainland China), or hired foreign labourers from South East Asia to replace local labour. This change in the local industry has affected women labourers' rights greatly. However, after much effort by women's groups in Taiwan, an Act of Gender Equality in Work went into effect from March 8, 2002. Most unequal practices with regard to gender are consequently abolished.

Women, Family and Domestic work

Gold (1998) recalls that Taiwan has had the dubious distinction of having the highest divorce rate in Asia since the early 1990s. In 2001, one out of four marriages in Taiwan will end in divorce and the numbers are still increasing (DGBAS, 2002). However, patriarchal ideology continues to influence the family. In May 5 2002, the Legislative Yuan approved amendments to rules in the civic codes to scrap the common property

concept to allow spouses in the same family to own and manage their own assets. The new rules also grant a certain amounts of 'pocket money' to a homemaker from the breadwinner in the family (*The China Post*, May 6 2002).

The main hindrance to women's careers is the traditional burden of the household and care-giving. Due to the traditional stereotypes of gender roles and public policy, women are still expected to take the responsibility for the home, and thus become the so-called secondary workers of the labour market. Moreover, the welfare ideology in Taiwan is pro-family, so that the family and the informal support system are expected to shoulder the major responsibility of caring for family members, rather than the public support system or the social welfare system. According to some estimates, 70 to 80% of care-givers in the family are women, and the welfare rights of these women care-givers are ignored (Yam web, 1998).

According to National Statistics in 1998, 50% of women between 15 to 64 had quit a job at least once, and about a third of them resigned right after giving birth. Caring for a family is usually the primary reason for a woman to interrupt her career. A government survey in the mid 1990s also shows that 70% of non-working women (ie. 2,614,000 women) are qualified for jobs but have left to manage their family. For men, it is another story. Only 6,000 men, or about 0.6% of non-working men, quit their jobs per annum, usually to pursue a career related to higher education or to start their own company (Yam Women Web). Childcare is such a heavy financial burden that women often choose to forgo their careers. There are few public child care centres, and there is little confidence in the quality of the private ones.

Women's Political Participation in Taiwan

Women in Taiwan have had the right to vote since 1947 when the Constitution was enacted, and although Taiwanese women are not involved in political issues to the same extent as men, women's political participation is increasing. One of the features is that many women politicians, usually members of the current ruling DPP party (including the current First Lady), participated in political elections before 1987 because they had to 'wage wars on behalf of the husband' (*Dai-Fu-Chu-Zhen*). Their husbands had either become martyrs or were unable to participate themselves because they were imprisoned under KMT rule. These women all succeeded. In 2000, due to its successful promotion, many women's groups in Taiwan supported the DPP's candidate, Chen, Shui-bien, as the party promised that a quarter of the cabinet would be women in the cabinet. They also demanded a woman vice president. Chen subsequently won the election and worked with the first woman vice president, Lu Hsiu-lien, also a feminist pioneer in Taiwan. There are now a quarter of women in the cabinet, as Chen had promised (also see page 99).

Table 3-2 Number of Women and Men Politicians in Taiwan

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: DGBAS: National Statistics (2001)

3.2 Effects of the national political situation and the women's movement

The contemporary women's movement in China has always been in line with its political movements. The improvement of women's status started from the late 19th century when in 1894, China was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japan War. This humiliation invoked demands for political and social reform. Intellectuals at that time believed weak (as a result of foot binding) and ignorant women hindered the nation's development. Therefore, they considered it important to educate the other half of the population in China and make them useful to the nation. However, all this was advocated mainly by men, so it is difficult to consider it a 'Women's Movement', or to see the changes as empowering women.

Missionaries also played a key role in the late Ching dynasty in establishing girls' schools in China (Lu,1989). In 1907, women's education was formally included in school education after a series of educational reforms, but Lu (1989:37) concludes that women's education at this period still stressed how to be daughters and mothers, and how to be feminine. It did not challenge any traditional views on women's role in the society and was actually a different form of oppression for women.

Ku (1989: 96), focuses on two main kinds of activities to support women from 1894 to 1900. The first was the abolition of foot-binding because the custom has been laughed at by the Westerners, and also because women could not work properly as factory labourers if they had bound feet. The second was the introduction of women's right to education. Both were promoted by men scholars and businessmen who tried to change the situation

through the laws and officials³³. Therefore, Ku considered those movements as the extension of patriarchal interests: women were expected to be educated and to start working for the sake of the nation but they were still required to be good wives and mothers. They were not expected to compete with men in the political arena nor in careers (p. 98).

With the revolutionary trend since the late Ching Dynasty in late 19 century, women started to demanded women's rights. These included the right to education, the right to take part in social activities, the right to make their own living, freedom of movement, freedom of marriage and even the right to participate in elections and other political rights. Because of their activities many women's schools were set up by officials and private businessmen. However, girls in the schools were still 'taught to be good wives and kind mothers, and to be chaste and gentle was of primary importance' (Wei, 1995:13).

These kinds of non-threatening strategies were welcomed by the government. However, when educated women started to reflect on their situation, they started asking for further reforms. After 1900, because of the invasion of eight Western countries, women were pushed more actively into engaging in revolutions against the Ching Dynasty in order to save the country.

Many women's groups and women's newspapers appeared, advocating both women's and general political revolution during the period from 1901 to 1912. However, this new identity was formed on the basis of the political revolution. Women were to be identified

³³ Among 1,257 members of the Non-foot-binding society in one province of China, there was less one percent of women members (Ku, 1989: 97)

not as good housewives and mothers, but as national heroines and national mothers, and the main concern of the women's movement at this time was not sexual oppression but 'bigger' racial and political issues. Again, women were encouraged to engage in revolutions to be approved and praised. Therefore, the image of Chinese New Women was a macho heroine within a male-dominated ideology. The ideology was not challenged by women, but approved by men and women as a whole.

After the revolution, women's education achieved formal and legal recognition when National Father Dr. Sun Yatsen declared: 'today, the most important thing should be to promote women's education.' He also said: 'men and women can enjoy equal rights when education flourishes. When women enjoy equal rights, then this republic will stand' (Wei, 1995:14).

Once the Republic was established, however, the so-called 'new women' found that they were cheated by male revolutionary comrades. In 1912, Tang Chuen-Ying led a group of women who were members of the Nationalist Party. They forced their way into the Senate House, smashed the glass of the window, attacked the security guards and tried to stop the meeting because the temporary Constitution promulgated did not indicate that men and women should have equal rights. These women demanded the Constitution had to state clearly women's right to participate in politics³⁴. Later, the crisis was settled by the President's assurance he would suggest this to the Senate House, but in August, a speech made by Sun Yat-sen said only that:

³⁴ The original sentence was: 'regarding the different race, class and religion, all Chinese people are equal.' Women demanded either adding 'sex' to race, class and religion, or removing the first half of the sentence.

According to the policies agreed by 5 Parties, this (the proposal) can be planned later. Since the nation is our priority, we should follow the decisions of the majority. If we can consolidate the Republic, men and women will achieve equal status. Nevertheless, if the foundation of the country is not firm enough, men will be the slaves of others, not to mention women. (Pan, 1995:253, my translation)

This event become well known. At the same time, the British parliament was also discussing women's participation in politics and this measure also failed. The British feminists then sent a telegram to encourage their Chinese comrades (Ku, 1989: 101).

Subsequently, the Chinese women's movement became a subordinate part of the political movement. It is argued that when the whole nation was under crisis, patriotism and the pursuit of social reform became the priority and that the history of the women's movement at this period should be closely attached to the fate of the nation and the survival of Chinese people. According to Pan (1995:249): 'it's not women asking for a new identity, but men needing different women (wives); the nation needing different women (Mother); and the race needing new women (to reproduce).'

After the May 4 Movement in 1920, some feminists resorted to Marxism to solve women's problems. They believed that the reform of marriage and family must start from the reform of the current society and the core of the solution was to change the system of private property (Pan, 1995:260). Through the 1920s and 1930s, women's groups again showed much concern for gender equality issues. Women were able to present in Legislation Yuan. However, the Constitution at that time obviously favoured men above women (Ku, 1989: 103), and in the 1930s, affected by the economic recession in America and Europe, the chances of employment for married women were restricted and limited,

affecting Chinese women immediately. Some newspapers started promoting a utopia where 'men and women would have their own separate places.' The government of Fukien province even fired its women administrators, resulting in a great deal of criticism. In 1942, the government promulgated laws that women civil servants should not be fired for their sex. In 1946, women representatives were able to gain reserved seats in elections at all levels (Ku, 1989; Lu, 1989: 173)

The contemporary women's movement in Taiwan has also been closely associated with the political situation. During and immediately after the colonial period, there were well-known Taiwanese women communists. According to the Japanese scholar Tsurumi (1977:209): 'Among other Taiwanese leftists, key figures in the Taiwan Communist Party had studied abroad – nearly all the important party elite had been students in China or Japan. Hsieh Hsueh-hung, "the parent of the Taiwanese Communist Party" 'was by no means the only prominent figure in the Taiwan Communist Party who was female.' Tsurumi (1977) considers that, 'the conservatives' (the Nationalist Party) platforms also included support for women's right, but it was from Communist Party ranks that women significantly emerged as power holders' (p.209).

When the nationalist government moved to Taiwan, the island was made into an anti-Communist fortress and the KMT put great emphasis on traditional values to ensure stability. Women were encouraged to play supportive and subservient roles both at home and in public. Women's organisations, like all non-governmental organisations, were subject to the Martial Laws, Article 8, of which specified that 'within the same district, only one organisation of the same nature or of the same level is allowed to be registered, unless the Law provides otherwise.' This meant women could not form any society/party

whose nature was similar to one which already existed, so women on their own participated only in 'soft' activities, such as sewing, charities, social gatherings, community services, etc. Most women's organisations formed at the time, such as the YWCA, 'belonged' to either the government, churches or international organisations and were ruled by the mainstream (men's) organisations.

Ku (1989) suggests that feminists in Taiwan made the most of the democratisation of Taiwanese society and moved to a different stage of the women's movement after Martial Law was lifted in 1986. Women then became more actively involved in all sort of fields. They cared not only for women's needs (as in helping youth prostitutes, against pornographic media, improving women's employment, and helping divorced women), but also participated in the consumers' movement, humanitarian education campaigns and the green environmental movement. According to Chiang (1995:27), a main feature of the women's movement in Taiwan was its support and participation of academics and it became an extension of women scholars' work.

The women's movement in the 1970s was started by Lu Hsiu-lien (the current Vice President). To some extent, it echoed the world-wide movement for gender equality of that time. Lu studied law at the National Taiwan University and got her MA degree in the USA. It was she who initiated the concept of a 'new feminism', maintaining that 'women should be people first and then women'; 'women should walk out of the kitchen'; and 'sex discrimination against women should be removed and the potential of women developed'. However, it was not until 1979, when she was sent to jail following the eruption of the 'Kaohsiung Riot', that debate on the subject began to subside.

In the initial stage of Lu's activities she often talked about 'women contributing two thirds and men one half of their lives to their family', to compromise with patriarchal tradition. She also attached a positive evaluation to the traditional feminine attributes of being tender, sweet, graceful and loving. She attracted a large number of young and well-educated followers, but she also antagonised the conservatives, who feared that feminist ideologies would erode traditional moral codes. Despite her attempts at compromise, her 'radical' approach was still not welcomed by the government, and particularly her later involvement in the anti-KMT movement. (See Lu, 1977; Chiang and Ku, 1985)

Several surveys were carried out between 1979 and 1984 by scholars to gain an understanding of women's opinions of the women's movement in Taiwan. In one sample survey of 540 women, it was found that 60% of the sample did not feel that a women's movement was needed in Taiwan (Liao and Cheng, 1985). In another survey of 30 women executives in the same year, most of them felt the same, since they enjoyed equal rights which were protected by the Constitution (Ahmajian, 1980 cited from Chiang and Ku: 1985). Moreover, of 35 women interviewed by Yao (1981) most indicated that women should fight for their rights through demonstrating excellence instead of relying on vocal protest. If women achieved public recognition, it was said that respect and improved status would follow (Yao, 1981). Chiang and Ku (1985), subsequently commented that ideological changes of women moved at a very slow pace in contemporary Taiwan as most women believed that equal rights were guaranteed by law, and that it was not necessary for Chinese women to stand on street corners shouting slogans.

In the 1980's, however, a continuing effort to raise the consciousness of women was made by a group led by Li Yuan-Chun. Her supporters included well-educated women in white-collar jobs and middle-class housewives. Their objectives were: 'to raise female consciousness and to encourage self-development; to extend a helping hand to women in need; and to work toward an equal, just, mutually-respectful and harmonious society for both sexes' (Chiang and Ku, 1985:44). By this stage, the strong resistance and mistrust of the initial stage had gradually given away to increased acceptance by the general public. What was considered radical has been gradually accepted in modern Taiwan.

Until the 1980s, the women's movement was still rather modest, as the government at that time did not welcome any social movements, and the feminist movement was no exception. Chiang and Ku (1985:44) conclude that

...there is still a lack of general consensus as to the definition of the women's movement, whether it is needed to promote women's status or women's status needs improvement at all. Depends primarily depending on individuals' efforts and having little institutional support, the 'women's movement' or the promotion of a new gender ideology in Taiwan, still has a long way to go.'

This research shows how much women are part of a patriarchal society and that their choices and beliefs are socially constructed. Little wonder that in Taiwanese culture at that time, most women thought that women were doing well. This is also reflected in my autobiography, my belief and values as they were constructed during the time this research was carried out.

Taiwanese women also tried to steer away from the political issue in order to gain support from the government. Using Ku's research as an example, Wang (1999) indicates that gender research before 1987 was more of a Chinese women's movement than a Taiwanese one³⁵. After martial law was abolished in 1987, there was more research about the women's movement in relation to the Nationalist government, and some critique of the limitations of the academic-based women's movement in Taiwan.

Therefore, although changes in women's status have occurred, until the 1980s the advance was only gradual in Taiwan. While women have made significant progress in receiving education (see Section 3.3), fewer advances have been made regarding their economic status. Cultural constraints continue to play a significant role in the employment of women. The traditional value system and social pressures still have an immense impact upon women's attitudes toward their own status and role in life.

Feminism in Taiwan moved to a very different stage in the 1990s. On the one hand, the harmony among feminist groups and women's organisations disappeared and there are now many different voices on such issues as prostitution and sexuality³⁶. People like He Chun Rui advocate sexual liberation for Taiwanese women, and various women's organizations have become more daring, using radical strategies to challenge patriarchal views about women and to explore women's potential. Most organisations have their own specific targets and strategies and action plans. As Farris (2000: 161) indicates, 'The

³⁵ This is because an emphasis on 'Taiwan' can be easily labeled as pro-independence, which is something the nationalist government would not accept.

³⁶ In 1997, stimulated by Taipei City Mayor's announcement that licensed prostitutes would be made illegal, women's groups have been arguing with each other about prostitution. Should it be a job of choice for women? Before this happened, women's groups shared an informal agreement that they should keep a united front in public, even if they disagreed.

women's movement in Taiwan is now in its third decade and is by no means a unified institution.'

On the other hand, these multi-dimensions do make feminism more visible in Taiwan. The feminist movement is now not only supported by women academics, but also by policy-makers as feminists use different strategies to interact with politics and to lobby to politicians for legislation. Lu became the first woman Vice President in 2000 and a quarter of Cabinet ministers are now women - as the DPP party promised during the election. Many universities have set up women's or feminist societies, or even societies for lesbians and gays. The Taipei Municipal Government organised a gay and lesbian fair in 2000. However, there are also signs that the women's movement is again used to serve political purposes because of Taiwan's increasingly isolated political status. In 2000, when I went home for a NGO conference, the Vice President and a woman minister both attended the meeting and the minister even hosted the dinner on the opening evening. There was a rumour that some representatives from other countries had arranged to meet the President himself.

Wang (1999:5) believes three features of feminist movements in Taiwan are emerging. The first is the pan-political tendency. Being involved in the women's movement usually involves becoming aware of other political issues. Before the abolition of martial law, the feminist movement in Taiwan tried to steer clear of politics, but in the 1990s, the relationship between women's organisations and politics saw many changes. Wang (1999: 262-3) indicates that because of the pan-political tendency, everything said and done in Taiwan in the public arena is given political connotations and associated with the identity

of the nation (independence vs unification). For this reason, the feminist movement in Taiwan is seen as a hyper-political activity.

Secondly, many feminists are well educated and most have majored in the faculty of art (in literature in particular) in the universities. They therefore have skilfully promoted feminism through the media, especially in the 1980s. Women's groups have learned to channel the mass media, and to get public attention. Furthermore, as society and the media in Taiwan are extremely 'superstitious' about authority and 'scholars', since people value education highly, feminist academics have been able to make good use of their positions³⁷.

Thirdly, although the women's movement came relatively late, compared with Western developed countries, it has gained a lot within a short period of time by being able to revise many laws and regulations, which were the cause of discrimination against women. Also, the Gender Equity Committee was set up in March 1997 within the Ministry of Education. As a consequence, most schools are required to have their own Gender Equity Committee, and gender education has been made compulsory for both students and teachers.

Overall, though, it is fair to say that, the demand for women's rights has been less strong in Taiwan than in the West.

³⁷ The reason for calling it a superstition is because the high degree of confidence that people have in scholars. Therefore, it is common for high profile politicians in Taiwan to hold PhD degrees and for well-known scholars and scientists to be invited to participate in major projects whether or not they have specialised in cognate areas.

3.3 Women and education in Taiwan

3.3.1 Women and education

In appearance, women in Taiwan enjoy equal opportunities for education with men. Nevertheless, a closer examination reveals that men are still in a more advantaged situation when it comes to the types of the institutions they attend, and gender stereotyping still prevails when it comes to the choice of majors, on which depends future career development.

The modern school system in Taiwan started in 1920 during the Japanese colonial period. During this time, girls and boys studied for the same number of years in primary schools. According to Hsieh (1995), in 1922 the primary schooling rate of Taiwanese girls was only 61%, while the rate for boys was 80%. Girls' secondary education was also then formally one year shorter than boys'.

Taiwanese families usually sacrificed their daughters' education for the sake of their sons. They believed that their daughters would eventually marry into other families but their sons would stay with them (Xie, 1995:191). After World War Two, the Nationalist government modified the system and curriculum. Educational opportunities increased sharply in the 1950s, and the percentage of school-aged children actually in school reached 90.83 percent in 1954, though again higher for boys than girls. However, women caught up within less than two decades. The biggest change came when the government extended compulsory education from 6 to 9 years in 1968.

Table 3-3 The Percentage of School-aged Children actually in School in Taiwan

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: Ministry of Education (2000b: 32)

As mentioned in Section 2.2, the government did not encourage the expansion of private schools at compulsory education level. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, the government did encourage the establishment of many private vocational senior high schools due to the need for labour in industry. According to Xie (1995:187), a higher percentage of girls attended the less prestigious private high schools and vocational high schools, and in particular, private vocational high schools. Boys were given more than 10,000 places in the public academic senior high schools in 1992. Therefore, even though there was a slightly higher enrolment ratio of girls at the compulsory education level (age 6-14) in 1997-8, and 5 percent more girls than boys at the secondary or higher levels (ages 15-21), girls actually had less chance of entering the more prestigious academic high schools.

Table 3-4 Net Percentage of Graduates entering Advanced Level Education in Taiwan, 1997-1999

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: Ministry of Education (2000b: 33)

Table 3-5 Distribution of Students among Vocational High Schools by Gender, 1999-2000

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: Ministry of Education (2000b: 92)

In higher education, a government report has shown that the subject choices of college majors by women students is still mainly concentrated in the arts, education, humanities, home economics, tourism, and mass communications -- areas traditionally dominated by women. Engineering, natural science, mathematics, computer science, transportation, electronic communications, architecture, urban design, and law are still dominated by men. Also, the ratio of women students decreases at successively higher level of university education. For example, in 2000 51% of undergraduate, 28% of master's and 17.2% of these on doctoral programs were women. The proportion of women teachers in universities and colleges has been around 30 percent from 1981 onwards (Educational statistics of the Republic of China, 2000:33).

The content of the curriculum in schools has also been under attack for its gender bias. Textbooks attracted much criticism before they were revised in the mid-1990s. For instance, one text led to protest by feminists in Taiwan:

Who gets up early? Mother gets up early. Mother gets up early to clean the house.
Who gets up early? Father gets up early. Father gets up early to read the newspapers.
(Primary Chinese Textbooks, Book One, Lesson Three, cited from Shi, 1993: 47)

In these textbooks, women only abandon their traditional gendered role temporarily, for the sake of the nation. Another example is a lesson which appears repeatedly in the textbooks (Primary Chinese Textbooks, in Book 4 and Book 12) in primary school: the story of Mulan, a young heroine of the sixth century AD. When the invading Hun attacked China, Mulan's aging father was ordered into battle. To spare him from harm, she disguised herself as a soldier and secretly took his place in the Imperial army. She eventually brought victory to her country and honour to her family. This was subsequently adapted by Disney and made into an animation film in 1999 and became a success.

3.3.2 Women as teachers in Taiwan

Some comparatively 'older' western literature is used here as I consider it suitable to describe women who become teachers in Taiwan.

A high social status job

For various reasons, including the combination of an authoritarian-Confucian state, a relatively poor society, and a high respect for teachers in the early days of Taiwan, teaching has always been one of the best career options for Taiwanese people. Unlike in the UK, teaching has never been seen as a 'semi-profession' (Acker, 1994) in Taiwan. It is a high status profession. Nevertheless, as in most other countries (Coffey & Delamont, 2000), women in Taiwan are mostly represented as teachers at the elementary levels, and there are fewer at high school level. It is basically assumed that those working with young children must be gentle and patient, and that men do not possess enough of these qualities.

As Adler et al. (1993:22) indicate, ‘teaching children is associated with motherhood, marriage and the caring aspects of femininity’ so teaching is considered an acceptable job for women, and as one that fits with their other roles.

However, except at kindergarten and higher education levels, the proportion of men and women teachers employed in primary and secondary schools are not as uneven as might be expected in Taiwan, because recruitment of primary teachers usually takes gender into consideration. When teachers’ colleges recruit primary school teachers, they usually recruit 50% of men and 50% of women. However, women students tend to get higher grades since women are more interested in teaching – they are more motivated and effective in teaching (Xie, 1995:203) and more men than women move out of teaching soon after training (see Table 3-6). Despite this, far fewer women become school managers, though this situation is changing.

Table 3-6 The Percentage of Women Teachers in Taiwan and England and Wales, 1997-1999

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education (2000b:35); DfEE: Statistics of Education (2000: 49-50)

An unplanned life-long career

Acker (1994) indicates that since the mid-1970s, studies in the West have been

pre-occupied with 'profession' and more with career. In her research on 10 men and 10 women heads of secondary comprehensive schools in the UK, Evetts (1994a) found that most had drifted into teaching rather than making it a positive choice. Many British women become teachers either by embarking on training or by taking up part-time or supply-teaching posts, without transgressing traditional gender expectations. She suggests:

Teaching as an occupation could be fitted in with other gender responsibilities to home and to family. Teaching as an occupation involved no gender conflicts. However, teaching *as a career* did entail other sorts of expectations, namely that the teacher would seek promotion by taking on administrative responsibilities and subsequently managerial positions within schools. (Evetts, 1994a: 34-35)

Grant (1989:39) agrees that some women drift into teaching because it is the sort of job that women are expected to enter. Few women start teaching with a definite career plan in mind and some teachers claim never have acquired one. Some explained this as a consequence of their role expectations. Acker's point probably also applies to both men and women teachers in Taiwan: their careers are not properly guided, as my research will confirm.

Furthermore, under the influence of Confucian tradition, society pays a great deal of respect to teachers. Even though the pay is moderate, teaching is deemed a well-respected job for both men and women. As family has strong influence over the individual in a Confucian society, parents still have strong influence over their children's career until today in Taiwan (see Section 6.2.1).

Having a strong examination tradition further affects people planning their career as the tradition leads to the development of a distinct unwritten ranking for all universities and departments. Most people therefore think less about what they would like to study and more about what are considered good choices for them. If their scores are good enough to be admitted to a 'good' department or a 'good' university, they go to it without giving much thought to individual preferences (see Section 6.2.1).

However, many people choose to enroll in teacher training colleges and universities simply because their families cannot afford to pay for higher education or are unwilling to pay for it. Studying in teachers' universities and colleges has been until recently the only way to receive free higher education (Lin, 1988). As the society was poor, being a teacher became the top choice for the majority of students. This was particularly the case for women whose parents were less willing to pay for their higher education, and they were usually very aware of it (see Section 6.2.1). Among the eleven school principals I interviewed, seven of them admitted that their family financial situation was the reason they became teachers. The government stopped providing free education recently, but teachers' colleges and normal universities remain top choices for many people, especially for women.

Lyons (1981) finds that it is only those who make career plans who are likely to gain the promotion they want. Although teachers enjoy high status in Taiwan, many people who become teachers did not have a clear plan when they first entered teaching. They choose to become teachers either because of its high social status or because their family cannot afford to have other types of high education. Thus, women are less likely to be promoted

for their lack of career planning.

3.3.3 Women managers who conform to traditional expectations

Shakeshaft (1993:52) points out that, men tend to be more visible in school life than women, and more likely to be asked to chair committees or to represent the school. Even in 2001, Maguire (2001a) in the UK still considers that: 'Men occupy the majority of school headship while women make up the majority of the classroom teaching force' (p. 227). This situation also applies in Taiwan, though there is a growing number of women principals in Taiwan. However, women principals in Taiwan are still much influenced by their traditional role in a patriarchal society.

The trend towards an increased number of women managers in Taiwan

As the school system in Taiwan is relatively bureaucratic and the size of schools is usually quite big, the percentage of women principals does not differ greatly at different levels (see Table 3-7). The only exception is at the level of senior high school, because most top senior schools are single sex schools in Taiwan and women principals are usually recruited by girls' senior high schools. According to Xie (1995: 192), the percentage of senior high school women principals was 18 % in 1995. At the same time, it is 8 % in primary schools and 6 % in junior high schools.

Table 3-7 Number and Percentage of Primary and Secondary Women School Principals in Taiwan Province

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: Statistics Section, Bureau of Education in Taiwan Province (2001)

Table 3-8 The Percentage of Women Headteachers in England and Wales, 1997-1999

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Source: DfEE: Statistics of Education: Teachers, England and Wales (2000: 49-50)

Generally speaking, the number of women school managers is increasing in Taiwan. In the case of the capital, Taipei, there were 29 women among the total of 50 people passing the examination for middle managers in 1996. In the principalship examination for primary and junior high school in 1997, more than half of the 27 applicants who passed the examination successfully were women (Taipei Teacher Training Centre, 1997). It could also well be that more women are now being encouraged to apply; and that fewer men are interested in the position because of the changing role of school principals in Taiwan (see Section 2.2).

Women managers who would not let their professional role interfere with their family role

Even if women in Taiwan aspire to be school managers, the process of promotion affects their chance to become managers. In appearance, both men and women need to go through written examination and oral examination to be school managers. However, as the Chinese culture does not encourage people show their ambition (see Section 6.2.1) or actively seek promotion, women would usually have been placed in a disadvantaged situation. This section draw on Western literature to help us understand this disadvantage.

It would be incomplete simply to deal with women's work situations since their private life (household and childcare) also strongly influences women's careers. In her research on women leaders, Strachan (1993) shows that women describe their work and family lives as inseparable: 'very seldom was one talked about in isolation from the other' (p. 77). Hall (1996) also points out that family demands have great influence over women's career development and these may be experienced as constraints, demands and choices. The relationship between public and private needs to be looked at. According to Jones (1990:15), women's promotional chances are usually diminished by: (1) a break in service, following which may experience difficulty in gaining re-entry; (2) part-time work, or difficulty in gaining scale post status which result in a lack of experience necessary for promotion; and (3) family commitments which make it difficult to attend in-service education and training. Maternity leaves usually causes difficulties for women seeking promotion, and it can arouse other people's prejudices (Roach, 1993:66, Adler, et al., 1993:26). In the USA, Northcraft and Gutek (1993: 229) also believe that family role responsibility may will be the single biggest impediment for women managers.

Family responsibility is certainly a great burden for women managers in Taiwanese schools. Although getting married or having children may appear as a reason for interrupting their career elsewhere, few women teachers in Taiwan leave their work for those reasons. As teaching is considered a good job in Taiwan and there was no maternity leave until late 80s, in most cases, grandparents have helped with babysitting or babies have been sent to private nurseries. But even though maternity leave does not seem to obviously affect women's career routes in Taiwan, the double responsibilities for family and work are generally quite heavy (as shown in Section 3.1). They therefore affect women's aspiration to move upward. Compared with women, men are usually less tied by family responsibilities and are free to pursue other interests.

Research done in 1982 (Yang) showed that Taiwanese women were not interested in management and were confined by their domestic responsibilities. Most managers and men teachers believed that women teachers' role would interfere with their family role, though two thirds of women teachers disagreed. Most interviewees, including women teachers at that time, believed that the best way to manage both their family and work was to improve their effectiveness, rather than the setting up of nurseries in the schools or an increased number of staff (Xie, 1995:203-4). Even recently, Chen's study (2000b) of six women teachers in Taiwan found that they try to manage both family and jobs without sacrificing either of them, have little interest in promotion and believe that a good teacher should act like a caring mother. Under such kinds of social expectations, women teachers were and are forced to manage the situation on their own. Even at the level of higher education, the traditional value system makes many women teachers in universities handle most domestic work and childcare at home.

In Taiwan, even women who are interested in becoming school managers are still influenced by the traditional belief that they should not outperform their husbands. According to Chou (1992), many women researchers prioritise their husbands' career, so they focus on teaching instead of research. Consequently, they usually receive lower pay and take longer to become professors.

In their research of 38 senior school managers in China, Coleman et al. (1998) found that the respondents consider the imbalance in numbers of men and women in senior management are the consequence of: (1) the dual responsibility for housework and childcare; (2) tradition, culture and authority; and (3) the inherent quality of women and men (p. 147). Thus, it seems that women managers in Taiwan and China have the same constraints in their career: family responsibilities and tradition and culture with which they are required to comply.

In the city in which I conducted my research, the proportion of women principals who are divorced or single is also much higher than that of men principals (see Appendix 12). This seems to confirm the finding in the West that women managers tend to be single or childless (Alvesson & Billing, 1997: 141) Furthermore, women principals' marital status is also an issue to which people always pay attention in Taiwan.

Different subjects lead to different paths

Men and women usually differ in the field they choose as a career, and even within a single field of education, a sexual division of labour can exist. Thus the subjects taught by

teachers differ by gender. As there is no sex quota in the normal universities, the teachers' colleges, in Taiwan, there are usually many more men than women students in science and mathematic departments and more women in subjects related to languages and liberal arts (Ministry of Education, 2000b). Thus, there are usually more men teachers of mathematics and science and more woman teachers of subjects like languages and humanities. Their chance of becoming school managers are affected by their choices of subjects.

I found that PE teachers in Taiwan seemed to get more opportunities to become managers in schools. In 1996, among 50 teachers who passed the qualifying examination for middle administrators in Taipei, the top three subjects of 15 they majored in were education (7); physical education (6) and home economics (6) (Taipei Teacher Training Centre, 1996). It is not surprising teachers majoring in education, PE and home economics show more interest in becoming managers as they do not major in academic subjects and cannot gain extra income by private tutoring. PE teachers' physical strength is particularly preferred in Office of Discipline, and after a PE teacher becomes a middle manager, s/he would very often be qualified to take the examination to be a principal after three years. Shakeshaft (1989:70) found a similar situation in USA as regards the career advantages of PE teachers and coaches. Also home economics teachers are probably asked to be managers since their subject is considered less important. This is also the case in the UK. Acker (1989) notes that people in certain subjects or with certain qualifications are likely to be favoured for promotion. Thus, women are likely to be deterred from seeking promotion for the subjects they teach. Acker (1999: 154) further indicates that while management posts do not always require additional qualifications, men are likely to make

a leap without much classroom experience.

3.4 Conclusion

Women in Taiwan have made much progress in terms of their social status and career development in past few decades. These improvements have a great deal to do with economics and politics, in particular. However, the demands of the feminist movement has never been strong in Taiwan and most women still think along relatively traditional lines.

Under the influence of Confucian ideology, teaching is a highly valued job in Taiwanese society though it is usually an unplanned life-long career. In particular, it was attractive to those who had financial difficulty, since it gave them the opportunity to continue their higher education. It was especially popular for women, whose families were usually more willing to resource boys rather than girls. Even though there is an increased number of women managers in Taiwan, they usually conform to traditional expectations, and do not let their professional jobs interfere with their family role.

Chapter 4: School Management, Leadership, and Gender

This chapter explores the changing focus of management and leadership theories in the USA, UK and Australia. I also review the related literature about women's management and leadership styles and experience in the UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand in order to prepare the ground for further discussion in the later chapters. I then examine the development of management and leadership theories and try to distinguish between them. I explain the focus on leadership instead of management in this thesis, and in particular, on the idea of 'transformational' leadership because its emphasis on vision, values and empowerment means it fits well in the discussion of school leadership in Taiwan. I shall try to relate such leadership to the concept of 'democracy', which as previous chapters have noted has become a key issue in Taiwan. Most of the Western literature I cite is now up to 20 years old, but it is useful for me as it is relevant to Taiwanese society at present. Women's and education reform in Taiwan came soon after huge societal changes which are only now bringing women's issues under scrutiny in much the same way as women's movements in the west brought women's issues to the forefront in the 1970s and 1980s.

Finally, the chapter will explore ideas relating to cultural variables in management, leadership and gender, and previous relevant research in Taiwan. Most of the study of leadership here uses ideas imported, in particular from the United States, as there is a low level of cultural awareness in Taiwan in terms of leadership differences. Certainly, little research done on this island focuses on men and women principals' experience.

4.1 The changing focus of leadership and management theories

According to Blackmore (1999), the origins of educational administration as a disciplinary technology derived from the particular historical conditions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the West – industrialization, the emergence of new nation states, the dominance of political and economic liberalism, the bureaucratization of public life, and the rise of professionalism based on scientific expertise.

Early discussions of leadership and management were mainly focused on the formation of theories, such as the trait approach (Stogdill, 1974), the behavioural approach (Hemphil and Coons, 1957) and Fiedler's (1967) contingency model. In general, early views of the nature of educational leadership were rather constrained and tended to emphasise the exercise of formal authority in achieving the goals of schools. Between 1920 and 1970, educational administration developed as a science. According to Watkins (1989), traditional stances on leadership take for granted a one-directional flow from the leader to the led, from the principal to the school community, without taking account of a reality in which a junior member of staff may be the leader and the principal the follower. He further argued that the traditional theories are 'static, ahistorical & ideologically based' (p.11).

White (1995) in his overview of this period shares the same view:

Traditional concepts of leadership were bound up with the classic and scientific

approaches to management. Not only did they imply that there was only one 'right' way to lead in an organization, there was also the assumption that 'leadership' was synonymous with the way in which people who are leaders behave. Also, only particular sorts of people were equipped for this leadership. And they had to be men. ...Another characteristic of traditional leadership was that it was interpreted as being based within rigid formal structures, most closely linked with military situations... Highly formalized and hierarchical organizations echoed military hierarchies. They were structured around command and control, around boss and subordinate, around individuals knowing their place, staying in it, and accepting the limits of their responsibility and autonomy (p.197).

By the 1950s, the study of educational leadership had developed into what Blackmore (1999:45-46) called the 'theory movement', and she criticises this as follows:

...the theory movement called upon highly idealized versions of 'the scientific methods' asserted by logical positivism, which offered neutrality, objectivity, generalizability and predictability. While such epistemological claims appealed to education policy makers and administrators seeking system-wide solutions, they were premised upon a distinction between fact and value, a denial of ethics in science, a view that scientific methods led to the discovery of knowledge of a 'world out there' separate from self and not cultural and historically produced, and the denigration of experiential knowledge as rampant subjectivity.

Within this movement, the development of the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) used in the Ohio State Leadership Studies (Hemphil & Coons, 1957) represented an ambitious and far-reaching project. The new approach emphasized an examination and measurement of leader performance and behaviour.

In the UK, Australia, and New Zealand, in contrast to the USA, educational administration was not a well defined field of theory or practice prior to the 1960s, possibly because the career move from teacher to headteacher was premised upon

seniority and experience, rather than the specialist administrative knowledge or qualifications of principals as in the USA. During the 1960s, American management theory was introduced into these countries to compete with local discourse about educational leadership and administration (Grace 1995). By the 1980s, the tendency for policy 'borrowing'³⁸ across nation states meant that theories of education management shifted the paternalistic English and Australian culture of gifted amateurism and academic leadership towards a very different mode. (Ozga and Walker 1995: 35 and Blackmore, 1999: 48)

Since the late 80s, assumptions have changed. The view that there is a science of education management which can be generalized in an unproblematic way across different societies has promoted a number of critical studies³⁹. Thus, Greenfield (1993) was concerned about the technicist approach of management science and its impacts on the preparation of administrators. For him (1993:146), 'the central questions of administration are not scientific at all. They are all philosophical.' His attacks on the dominant positivist tradition within educational administration had a major impact on the development of the discipline.

³⁸ Borrowing is a term used by comparative education scholar, Bereday, G. Z. F. to describe the borrowing of overseas educational practices in the early 19th century. (Jones, 1971)

³⁹ Smyth (1989:3) for example, described it as 'superficial and fundamentally flawed.'

4.2 Women and leadership/management theories

Since leadership theories had tended to be associated with men, women's career experience become an issue for women managers and would-be educational leaders. Previous studies of leadership were critiqued by feminists from the late 70s. For instance, Shakeshaft (1987) remarked that Fielder's research and the Ohio State Leadership Studies both drew their samples from the corporate and military worlds, and she argued that 'the research team of the Ohio State Leadership Studies focused on a very narrow band of leadership given the numerous possible settings that might have been investigated. They chose to look at the "head man" in mainstream formal organizations.' She criticised the LBDQ for reflecting 'a conception of leadership as that in which men who are designated as leaders do' (p.154).

In the following section, I shall briefly illustrate several issues related to women and management/leadership theories which have been raised since the 1970s in the West.

4.2.1 The stereotype and a male model of management

Al-Khalifa (1989) considers that school leadership is linked to stereotypically defined masculine traits and behaviours. Marshall (1984) also indicates that management is stereotyped as a male occupation. For this reason, if women usually have less commitment towards promotion, even after they take up promoted positions, it may be because they usually suffer from isolation, and excessive visibility, and need to make compromises to gain recognition.

The stereotype

Antal & Izraeli (1993:63) consider that the single most important hurdle for women in management in all industrialized countries is the persistent stereotype that associates management with being male. Whichever characteristics are considered important for managers, they are generally identified more closely with men than with women. Blackmore (1989:103) shares the same view and argues that education in management and organisation theory, which rests on a rationalist approach to the organisation of hierarchies, produces a male model of management, with which women are unable to identify. Consequently, women are in a double bind. If a woman displays the culturally defined traits of 'femininity', she is perceived to be a 'poor' leader. If she acts according to the male role definition of a leader, she is condemned as being 'unfeminine.'

This issue has been taken up by various male sympathizers. Scholars such as Stephen Ball in the UK arguing that:

The definition of the school reflects the values and meanings of men's culture. The language and structure of schooling are predominantly shaped by patriarchy. (Ball, 1987:192)

Making a move: fear of success, commitment and attitudes about promotion

An early approach examined women's reluctance to pursue leadership positions. Since the late 1960s, the theory which has dominated as to why women have not gained more representation in higher levels of decision-making is that of 'fear of success' (Horner, 1972). Scholars like Horner focus on understanding why women are less willing to be leaders. They found that women seem to fear success because of the negative consequences which derive from succeeding in competitive situations such as social

rejection and perceived loss of femininity. She argues that women avoid success as it is in opposition to, and therefore jeopardizes, their femininity. However, Carlson (1972) found that men also admitted to the same kind of fears and that women were not afraid of 'success', just more prepared than male subjects to admit to the negative side of success – alienation, loneliness and conflict.

International research shows that women and men have different attitudes towards their careers, and these affect their career development. Alban-Metcalf and West (1991) compared the satisfaction that men and women reported from their jobs: women's rate of satisfaction from the job itself were higher than men's; and men rate 'fringe' benefits, such as earning and security, more highly than women (cited in Ouston, 1993:7). Shakeshaft (1987:70) also indicates that men start with less commitment to education and teaching; and being a teacher is usually their second option. Davies & Gunawardena (1992:101) support this viewpoint: 'men have a greater commitment to getting out of the classroom, or even out of the school in order to gain promotion' while 'women teachers in general are certainly more committed to remaining in the classroom rather than taking on "superordinate" roles'.

Grant's (1989:47) research on women deputies suggests a similar conclusion: that women are unlikely to begin teaching with a definite career plan in mind. Their career pathways are more often shaped by developments in their personal lives. As such, the notion of a once and for all career decision is irrelevant to most women. Shakeshaft (1987:61) indicates that career becomes a focus for women only in midlife, both because women tend to gain more self-esteem and confidence by this age and, also because their children

are already grown up by then.

The experience of being a manager: visibility, isolation, tokenism, compromising, and competition

Marshall (1984: 10) considers that women managers stand out as tokens because of the rarity, and that their performance is closely monitored by colleagues and supervisors. Due to the problem of tokenism, Shakeshaft (1987) also reports that women principals and superintendents often report less collegiality with male administrators and a deep awareness of 'loneliness at the top' (p.172). Sheppard's (1992) research found that there was a need for a network of women.

Moreover, Farish (1995) found that women's experiences as managers were likely to be different from men's. The fact that women managers are in the minority makes them visible and their private life and sexuality may be particularly scrutinized. This kind of visibility can also result in isolation and a lack of support. De Lyon & Migniuolo (1989:54) and McMullan (1993:70) all indicate that since many management posts are assumed to fall most naturally to men, the few women who succeed in this 'male world' often experience isolation. Al-Khalifa, (1989: 92) noted that management work tends to be 'more difficult for women generally because of their isolation and the need to negotiate their way through challenges to establish their right to manage'.

Women often have to compromise, using male techniques to gain recognition or as a means of self-defence (Fineman, 1993: 12). Marshall (1995) considers the compromises that women managers must make with feminist or women-centred views, whereas Adler, et al. (1993:16) argue that even if women do 'enter the fray' and compromise, they are

still women, the 'other' sex, and will be judged as such.

Ironically, women who aspire to or assume management positions are often not well supported even by other women in the profession nor do they support other women. According to Gupton & Slick (1996:137), the phenomenon known as the 'queen bee' syndrome 'occurs when a woman in a position of authority works to keep other women out to protect 'queenly' status'. Consequently, in their career experience, many women may be either discouraged from applying for top-level positions or have to work harder to stay in those positions.

The clash of gender with headship identities

Evetts (1994a) adds the suggestion that men headteachers are likely to have fewer problems arising from gender identity. She indicates (p. 91) that although some women heads in British secondary schools in her study perceived no difficulties in reconciling their gender and headship identities, for others, gender did 'intrude in their experiences of headship'. The studies in Marshall's (1995) work on 16 women managers who decided to leave, were forced to leave or contemplated leaving but eventually stayed, shows how discord between outer and inner self-images can produce a major problem of identity, especially for successful career women (p. 82). Their cultural and social backgrounds cause them difficulties in integrating the various roles in different aspects of their life.

Looking for another paradigm

Hall (1993:73) on the other hand looks at the issue not as one of women school leaders in the UK being victimized, but rather as their having taken control of their lives and seeing

their worlds in a larger perspective – one that allows room for achievement and affiliation. Many women in her study chose career paths where the quality of work life made up for the lower salary, lesser power and lower prestige. Evetts (1994c:231) points out that a successful career is not only one that is linear, and involves the achievement of high-ranking promotions in hierarchical organisational structures. In the USA, Shakeshaft (1989) took forward the debates about women teachers' motivation by questioning explanations of women's behaviours based on male paradigms of leadership and effectiveness. In her view, given the constraints on women's careers, their promotion orientation is bound to emerge as lower if it is interpreted within the male paradigm.

Davies & Gunawardena (1992:111) also argue that the problem with the definition of a career as a linear path upward through a hierarchical occupational structure is that such a view confines itself to the notion of paid employment, and gives no value to other aspirations. Teachers who wish to concentrate on teaching or other aspects of their lives instead of entering the field of administration and/or management may thus be accused of not being ambitious. Very often we see women teachers as trapped in this dilemma. I therefore suggest the image of the current dominant model of career is limited, and that the concept of career and career advancement in education need to be redefined if they are accurately to reflect women's experiences.

4.2.2 Debates on the difference of leadership styles

The debates over difference

Early administrative and management studies in education were gender blind. It was not

until the 1970s that the gender variable was included in school management research by scholars such as Shakeshaft in the USA. According to Gold (1996), mainstream literature on this topic published in the 1970s and early 1980s in the UK seemed to take no account of gender.

Studies in the 1970s, particularly in the USA, come to remarkably consistent conclusions, that women are very similar to men in their management styles. Shakeshaft. (1987) argued that different research designs could have resulted in different outcomes. Her own analysis using a LBDQ questionnaire found no differences between male and female on twelve dimensions of leadership behaviours. She also claims that women would not have been selected unless they could comprehend and master the managerial culture. Although she believes that women do most of the same things that men do when they manage schools, she still believes there are gender differences in school administration. In her studies of women superintendents, Shakeshaft (1987:173) found that not only do women administrators interact more frequently than men with teachers, parents, and women, they also exhibit a different style of interaction and that 'women are more likely to withdraw from conflict or use collaborative strategies, whereas males use authoritarian responses more often' (p.188).

Evetts (1994a: 87) also suggests that the choice of research methods could be the explanation as the results of quantitative testing procedures designed to be used on large samples have found few significant differences between male and female heads' perceptions of leadership or their ranking of task performances of headship. However, qualitative studies, usually small-scale, but considerably more detailed, have suggested gender differences in style. In her own analysis of responses on career histories,

headteachers demonstrated a great deal of variation both amongst the women and amongst the men, but she adds, 'it is possible that promotion-successful women will become absorbed by the managerialist values and structures which they had to learn to operationalise in order to succeed' (1994b:158). Therefore, it seems there is a recognition of gender differences between men and women leaders, though it is only through small-scale qualitative studies, that their differences can be uncovered.

Pitner (1981) found that women superintendents are more likely than men to use an informal style. Women superintendents develop more flexible agendas for meeting and have more limited control over them than do male superintendents. They are more casual in their dress, more often refusing to adopt the corporate image of the female executive. Adkinson (1981) suggested that women compared to men principals were more likely to involve themselves in instructional supervision, to exhibit a democratic leadership style and to concern themselves with students.

In the early 1990s, feminist writers on educational management maintained that such differences were significant, and that when men manage institutions they tend to be concerned with control and competition as aspects of management, whereas women managers value negotiation, co-operation and shared problem-solving. This results in women being less hierarchical in their management of schools than men (Ozga, 1993; Ouston, 1993).

Women's leadership style is less hierarchical and more democratic. Women, for example, run more closely knit schools than do men, and communicate better with teachers. They use different, less dominating body language and different language and procedures. Women appear more flexible and sensitive, and often more

successful. (Ozga, 1993:11)

Santos (1996) suggests that women bring a more multi-dimensional concept of leadership to the task and show more concern to 'empower' others than to 'exercise power.' In their research of 85 women managers in education, Adler, et al. (1993:117) also found that women 'do it better' and 'do it differently.'

Feminine Management

Thus deriving from the discussion about men and women's management and leadership styles, many feminists began to advocate feminine styles of leadership and management in the 1980s and early 1990s. Shakeshaft (1987) and Gray (1987) both claim that in certain organizations, like schools, feminine styles of leadership and management are more appropriate and effective. As the view of leadership becomes more flexible and is given new dimensions, there is now an increasing acceptance that leadership is a form of both direct and indirect influence. Al-Khalifa et al. (1993:12) reports that the discussion of gender and management is gradually shifting from 'male' and 'female' management styles towards 'masculine' and 'feminine' management styles. Davies and Gunawardena (1992:103) also propose 'feminized management' in schools. They suggest a shift from hierarchy to collegiality, which requires a much flatter management structure with necessary divisions of labour but a minimal level of permanent controlling of others. She warns that not all women are alike and so inevitably there will be some women who do not use an 'affiliate' style of leadership'; nevertheless she emphasises the different perspectives which women bring to educational leadership.

Hall (1996:188) further questions the 'management is masculine' argument, since her

study of six women heads shows that their management style is actually 'androgynous', which means that they possess a broad integrated repertoire of management skills rather than 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics.

4.2.3 Management/leadership theories and feminism

Halford and Leonard (2001) take a broader view and summarize the development of literature on leadership and gender according to the development of liberal, radical and post-structural feminist theories. The liberal approach argues that both masculine and feminine leadership qualities have an important role to offer organisations of the late twentieth century, ensuring a management team with balance and vision. In this model, power would come to be shared equally between the sexes. However, some critics point out that the androgynous ideal is intrinsically sexist. The qualities that are actually endorsed in organisations do not reflect the ideals of femininity as well as masculinity, and may in fact lead to a reconfirmation of traditional power relations (p. 124).

Taking a more uncompromising position on gender difference, radical feminists such as Marshall (1984) argue that women offer a complete and better alternative to masculine ways of managing, and that women's experience, traditional values and ways of behaving, feeling and thinking should be valued by organisations and rewarded with promotion to management. According to Halford and Leonard (2001: 127), the radical approach 'is not about women seizing power, but setting up alternative styles of management which enable power to flow more naturally through the organisation.' However, they also note that some feminists note that this strategy, far from enabling women to become more powerful, has merely locked them into behaving in stereotypical gendered ways for the

benefit of the male power elite.

Arguing that the liberal and radical-structural approaches take an over-dependent focus on the attributes of gender, creating simplified, binary categories, and implying that a hierarchical relationship exists between men and women, the focus of other studies has moved to another stage. According to Halford and Leonard, (2001), the post-structuralist influence on discussion of gender and management, has produced a broader understanding of the concept of difference. Research that takes this approach focuses less on categorical differences between women and men, and more on the complex nature of such differences.

To claim that all men manage in one masculine style, and that all women manage in an alternative, feminine style is, it is argued, too oversimplify all of the concepts of gender, power and management. Individual men may manage in very different ways: ... In other words, this approach to management complicates both gender and power, in an attempt to resist making definitive or categorical statements about men and women managers. (Halford and Leonard, 2001: 137)

Drawing from the perspective of post-structuralism, I find there is a need to locate men and women principals in a broader context in order to understand their leadership beliefs and actions, while showing due caution towards the over-simplified binary categories that tend to be imposed on them. Taiwanese men and women school principals can best be understood through an understanding of the broader cultural, historical and political context, and through recognising diversity.

4.3 A move from management to leadership

4.3.1 Distinguishing management and leadership

The critiques of positivist theories lead to the concepts of leadership and management being distinguished, in order to argue that leadership, which places emphasis on building and maintaining an organisational culture, establishing a mission for the school and giving it a sense of its own direction, is distinct from management, which usually emphasises designing and carrying out plans, getting things done, working effectively with people, and building and maintaining an organisational structure (see Diagram 4-1)

Diagram 4:1 Distinctions between leadership and management



Source : MacGilchrist et al. (1997: 13)

There have been many discussions about the differences between leadership and management (Schein, 1985; Bennis, 1989; Bryman, 1986). While some writers (eg. Foster, 1989:57; Knotter, 1989) consider that these two are not interchangeable concepts, others hold that there are different emphases between the two, but they overlap considerably (Law and Glover, 2000). This is especially the case for senior managers, as they have considerable input into policy and strategy formation (Morrison, 1998:206).

Overall, most scholars have gradually come to an agreement about the difference between

the two. Bell (1992) points out that the relationship between management and leadership is a complex one since it is not always possible in a school to make a clear distinction between activities related to management and those related to leadership. Nevertheless, he considers that leadership is more than the simple application of management functions, many of which may have to do with administration and the maintenance of the school (1992:43). Fullan (1991) argues that while leadership 'relates to mission, direction, inspiration', management 'involves designing and carrying out plans, getting things done, [and] working effectively with people' (p.157-8) Whitaker (1993:74) also indicates that management is concerned with orderly structure, maintaining day-to-day functions, ensuring that work gets done, monitoring outcomes and results, and efficiency, while leadership is concerned with personal and interpersonal behaviour, focus on the future, change and development, quality, and effectiveness.

Similar views are shared by Dunford, Fawcett and Bennett (2000:2), Mintzberg (1973) and Grace (1995:27). As West-Burnham (1992:102) argues, leadership concerns vision, strategies, creating the direction and even the transformation of the organization, whereas managing concerns the effective implementation of the vision, ways of ensuring that the vision happens in practice, organizational and operational matters, and creating the systems and means of ensuring the organization is run most effectively and efficiently to achieve its purpose and strategies.

Central to the discussion of leadership are the related issues of vision and values, which set the direction for the future development of a school. The climate, culture, ethos and identity of a school, and the values which prevail there, will necessarily have an influence

on its vision, yet as Trethowan (1991:12) suggests: 'these values are long term and not easy to change. They deeply influence a school because they are the touchstone by which people decide what is right, good and correct or bad, wrong and incorrect within an organisation.'

In England, Ribbins (1995), as well as Hodgkinson, disagree with Greenfield's view that leaders are reluctant to reflect on values issues. From his own interviews with headteachers, Ribbins (1995) finds that all the heads 'talked a good deal of their efforts to achieve a shared vision for the school, and the struggle to clarify and apply their values as leading educators in practice.' (p.260)

Bell and Harrison (1995) report that educational reform and changes in the UK in the 60s to 70s and again in the 90s have resulted in paradigm shifts in the values and vision of heads, principals, vice-chancellors and senior staff. A similar paradigm shift is also happening in Taiwan since the 1990s due to the great political changes discussed in Chapter 2.

The idea of moral leadership has been developed by a number of authors (Greenfield, 1986; Hodgkinson, 1991, 1996; Sergiovanni, 1991, 1992, 1996). They argue that schools are civil associations, and therefore differ fundamentally from enterprise associations like corporations. Schools carry with them a moral obligation through their responsibility for the education of a society's youth. According to Wong (1998:122)

Moral leadership focuses quite directly on articulating and upholding important school values. Through a focus on values and behavioral norms of the school rather than on rules, regulations, and policies, moral leaders can potentially create a

stronger impact on the life of teachers and students. As such, moral leadership could be both a motivating and stabilizing factor in sustaining the performance of schools.

In the UK, recent research shows that those school leaders who are seen as particularly effective are deeply concerned with values (Gold, et. al. 2002). Furthermore, the Think Tank Report which was produced by the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) describes the essential qualities of leadership in schools through ten school leadership propositions. These focus on values, creating an active learning community and on the importance of distributed leadership (Hopkins, 2001). The first proposition in this report indicates that school leadership must be purposeful, inclusive and values-driven.

Purposeful in so far as there is clarity as to the goals of education and schooling; inclusive to ensure that these aims are widely owned within and outside the school community; and values driven because it is only an unrelenting focus on learning and empowerment that will ensure success in the new knowledge society. Although clarity of purpose and ownership are necessary conditions for effective leadership, it is the underpinning values and beliefs that give leadership its power. It is these values and beliefs that also inform the moral purpose of education and leadership style (p.8).

4.3.2 Conditions of change

As the majority of educators seem to agree that management and leadership function differently, I further argue that the discussion of leadership seems to be more important than that of management when rapid change is happening. (Whitaker, 1998; Leithwood, et al., 1999; Day et al., 2000; Morrison, 1998; Riley & Louis, 2000).

Schools, like other organizations, are undergoing radical changes in the ways that their business is conducted. One of the most significant of these is that leadership rather than management needs to be seen as the most crucial focus for institutional development and growth in the years ahead. (Whitaker,1993:73)

White (1995) further argues that the 'old' models of organizational leadership do not 'fit' in situations of rapid change as they assume situations which are relatively stable and predictable. As the environments in which we now work and live are becoming increasingly complex, hostile and unstable, the assumptions that firm direction and firm leadership from the front can reduce the messiness of organizational life and remove instability are no longer valid. For this reason, White claims that 'the pivotal role of leadership is apparent.' (p.194)

4.3.3 Why transformational leadership?

Within the work on leadership, I should like to concentrate particularly on what has been called transformational leadership, because within the discussion of school leadership I consider it fits best the present context of Taiwan. The term 'transformational leadership' has appeared more and more frequently in writing about education since the late 1980s. (Leithwood et al., 1999). However, J. M. Burns (1978) was the first to draw widespread attention to this term when he published his book *Leadership*. Based on a historical analysis, Burns argued that most understandings of leadership not only overemphasized the role of power but held a faulty view of it as well (Leithwood et al., 1999:28) He claimed that two essential aspects of power - motives or purposes, and resources - are possessed not only by those exercising leadership but also by those experiencing it. Thus 'the most powerful influences consist of deeply human relationships in which two or more

persons engage with one another.' (Burns, 1978:11)

The literature offers varying interpretations of the concept of transformational leadership. The most fully developed model of such leadership in schools has been provided by Leithwood and his colleagues, arguing that there was a need to move from the concept of 'transactional leadership' to 'transformational leadership'. The former 'is based on the exchange of services for various kind of rewards that the leader controls, at least in part' (Leithwood, 1992: 9) The model conceptualized such leadership along seven dimensions: building school vision; establishing school goals; providing intellectual stimulation; offering individual support; modelling best practices and important organizational values; demonstrating high performance expectations; creating a productive school culture; and developing structures to foster participation in school decisions (Leithwood, 1994). Leithwood argues that 'transformational leadership' by contrast is needed to develop the school into a learning organisation with shared, defensible values and goals, with good communication and problem-solving routines (Moos, 2000:95).

Transformational leadership attempts to incorporate notions of direction, purpose, leading and following into a coherent model. The model's key elements are vision; culture and values; communication; power and networks; and empowerment. Those who attempt to be transformational leaders try to have 'a relationship of a mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders' (Burns, 1978:4). Rosener (1990: 120) sees transformational leaders as these who persuade 'subordinates to transform their own self interest into the interest of the group through concern for a broader goal. Moreover, they

ascribe their power to personal characteristics like charisma, interpersonal skills, hard work, or personal contacts, rather than to organizational stature.'

Unlike the traditional conceptualisation, which did not admit of competition or conflict, and hence engagement between leaders and followers, Burns claimed that the moral and democratic legitimacy of his conception of transforming leadership rested in embracing and incorporating these very elements

...for it is only when there are competing diagnoses, claims, values and prescriptions on offer from would-be leaders, and hence the possibility of 'conscious choice among real alternatives' that followers can define their own 'true' needs, and thereby make informal decisions for addressing these requirements (Allix, 2000:7)

Some scholars further argue that the best practice of a good principal should be both transactional and transformational (Day et al., 2001:47). They further develop 'post-transformational leadership' models such as 'values-led contingency leadership' (p.52), to emphasise the importance of reflecting the actual practices of school principals.

The fifth school leadership proposition in the Think Tank Report produced by the NCSL, focuses on the importance of distributed leadership, as 'school leadership is a function that needs to be distributed throughout the school community' (Hopkins, 2001: 11).

Instructional leadership offers a more sustainable model of leadership for a profession that, by the nature of the personnel it recruits, has leadership potential. By its nature, the teaching profession has leadership potential widely spread amongst its members. If this potential is to be realised, then it will need to be grounded in an approach to leadership that is opportunistic, flexible, responsive and

context-specific, rather than prescribed by roles, inflexible, hierarchical and status-driven. This view of leadership, then, is not hierarchical, but federal and involves clarify of direction, structures and support (p.11).

However, I shall not go further with this debate, as I consider that the particular challenges of market forces and managerialism that England is facing at this moment, are not so great an issue for school principals in Taiwan.

4.4 Feminism and the concept of leadership

Many feminist scholars of the 1980s and the early 1990s do not make the distinction between management and leadership, and still discuss them interchangeably. In the 1990s, Alvesson and Billing (1997: 136) proposed that the two concepts overlap considerably. However, a few like Morris (1999) and Hall (1996: 147) have tried to make a distinction.

Leadership was about having a vision, knowing where they wanted the school to go. It lay in the inspiration, the 'let's go for it' attitudes, setting the excitement and the pace. Managing was the means for making it happen, making it work and getting it right. It involved using resources effectively, getting the right people in the right jobs, making sure they were trained appropriately, fulfilling their needs, facilitating all the things they were doing (Hall: 1996: 147).

Some feminist writers do use the words carefully, however, which shows that they are aware, or believe, that the two words may imply different meanings: when they mention leadership, they focus specifically in the vision and values of the leaders. For instance, in her research on secondary headship, Evetts (1994d: 46) discovered a dramatic diminution in leadership in the UK as headteachers have become corporate managers under the local management of schools (LMS). Gewirtz & Ball (2000) shared the same view in their

study of the shifting discourses of school headship moving from welfarism to the new managerialism.

Generally speaking, there was an emphasis on leadership rather than management in the 1990s (as mentioned in Section 4.3.1). Blackmore (1989) advocated a feminist reconstruction of leadership that includes leadership outside formal roles. However, 10 years later, Blackmore (1999:57) also considered that the popular discourse about women's leadership being flexible, democratic, valuing openness, trust and compassion, 'human and efficient' was seemingly convergent with the 'new' and softer management discourse in postmodern organizations. Thus she is concerned that 'the substantive political and moral feminist position derived from the ethics of care is reduced to a view of care as just a matter of technique or style that can be readily acquired without any substantive shift in values or attitudes.' Her criticism is that:

the ethics of care is too readily reducible to essentialism and to biological and psychological explanations attribute to the gender of the individual and not the characteristics of the context or the job. This discourse, in appealing to notions of women's moral superiority and concern for relationality, can be constraining and disempowering. (1999: 57-58)

Some writers on leadership were sensitive to gender and added some feminist elements in their writing. For example, Burns proposed a feminine style of leadership and took the discussion of leadership to a different stage. He noted 'femininity has been stereotyped as dependent, submissive and conforming, and hence women have been seen as lacking in leadership qualities' (1978:50). But he believed that 'male bias is reflected in the false conception of leadership as mere command or control'.

On the other hand, some feminists have also tried to bring transformational leadership into their discussion. According to Fagenson (1993:5), much research in the US has suggested that women managers have a transformational, democratic, and/or 'web' rather than a hierarchical style of leadership and more satisfied subordinates than men managers. Rosener (1990) also suggested that women are more likely than men to be transformational leaders.

Can transformational leadership be clearly related to the discussion of gender and leadership? Schmuck & Dunlap (1995:22) argue that transformational leadership still requires the leader to 'take the major role.' Blackmore (1989) argues that since a hierarchical organisation is built on masculine values, women leaders can never really be appreciated. Gosetti and Rusch (1995) note that only three women leaders are included in Burns' (1978) book *Leadership*, and transformational leadership is only a form of pseudo-inclusion as it is a system constructed by men for men alone.

Nevertheless, I consider that transformational leadership provides a positive reference for school leaders in Taiwan during the process of school democratisation. In fact, it may suit the needs of school principals there rather more than those of British headteachers, whose space has been gradually limited by the new managerialism. In Taiwan, on the contrary, transformational leadership may receive a warm welcome, as it matches the direction of the current reform, although this reform is carefully steered by the government rather than driven by the needs of its people.

4.5 School leadership in the 1990s in Taiwan

4.5.1 Cultural differences

Differences between the Western cultural context of most studies of management and leadership, and that of Taiwan needs to be taken into consideration. Recent studies in Taiwan - both mainstream 'ungendered' and 'feminist' critiques of leadership (Chen, 2000a; Pan, et al. 2000) - have not recognised the extent to which recent ideas are located in the West.

One exception is Adler, et al. (1993:114) who noticed during their interviews with women managers that people were aware of cultural differences as well as the gender issue, though they do not have much empirical evidence:

The ways men and women manage are different in any one culture. What constitutes good management by women in this country equals good management by men in Japan. In this culture men are meant to be much more emotionally disengaged, rational, self-focused, individualistic in their management style, using direct assertion, physical presence, and masculinity to get their ways, an economic tool. Women are supposed to be much better at team-building, empathetic, holistic in their approach to their subordinates, but devious, laterally thinking, not so prepared to face direct conflict, going around, working on things to get what they want. Binding others to them by ties of personal fealty and affection which can be found in other paternalistic societies. (Senior Lecturer in Higher Education)

Comparative empirical data shows further evidence of cultural difference. In their book *Mastering the Infinite Game*, Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1997) surveyed more

than 30,000 middle and senior managers from 58 countries and explored the work-related values of these managers. They found that Western managers quite consistently adopted a more competitive, individualistic, goal-directed, rule-based approach, than East Asians who were guided more by communication, social-external, consensus-based norms in their managerial styles. In the case of schooling, Cheng and Wong (1996) have similar findings, in their study of school effectiveness in East Asia. They set up three dichotomies to account for Chinese differences from Westerners in their attitudes toward learning and schooling: individual-community, effort-ability, and holistic-idealistic.

Gradually, more scholars are writing from non-Western perspectives and trying to engage with and criticise Western traditions. According to Wong (1998: 112), in Hong Kong University, the study of how educational leadership is enacted in and influenced by societal cultures is a recent development. More and more researchers have tried to identify societal culture as a missing factor in educational leadership theory (Cheng, 1995; Hallinger, 1995; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Bajunid, 1996). For instance, Hallinger and Leithwood (1996) observe that in the Western management tradition, societal culture is often treated as an 'implicit variable.' Wong (1998: 113) indicates that 'this neglect of societal culture reveals the underlying assumption that theories developed within a given culture, particular the intellectually dominant one, have universal application.'

The role and conduct of principals in Taiwan, and the kind of challenges that Taiwanese principals face, can be very different from those in the West. For instance, in their study of school effectiveness in East Asian countries, Cheng and Wong (1996:45) claimed that, 'it is not exaggerating to say that school principals are also expected to play a pastoral role

over their teachers.’ With an understanding of cultural differences, it is possible for us to understand the practice of school administration and leadership in Taiwan.

4.5.2 Related research in Taiwan

In Taiwan, the development of research about leadership follows its development in USA. In particular, trait theory (Stogdill, 1974) and the influence of behaviourism were the early foci. Among behaviorist studies, the models of studies at the Universities of Iowa and Michigan, and Ohio State University Studies (Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire) were widely discussed and borrowed in Taiwan. The last of these especially has had the greatest impact on research on educational administration and leadership. In an analysis of doctoral theses on educational leadership from 1989 to 1998, Pan et al. (2000) conclude that 17 out of 75 educational administration and leadership research projects adopted the model of the Ohio State University studies. The contingency theory of F. E. Fielder also attracted a great deal of attention during the 1970s. However, little attention was paid to the wider social context.

At the same time, leadership rather than management has always been the focus for school principals in Taiwan.

... under the holistic and idealistic approach to education, schools are judged in a holistic way. Schools in Chinese societies are judged by their *xiaofeng*, literally meaning ‘school atmosphere’, which is something in between school culture and school climate. Management skills are seldom a concern among Chinese school principals, because they do not quite believe that school are managed by skills. They believe that petty skills and techniques in management are no replacement for a good principal who is respected by all teachers, students and parents as a

comprehensive leader – gentleman [sic]. This to some extent concurs with the notion of moral leadership which has attracted much attention in the international literature on management. (Cheng and Wong, 1996: 45)

Chen (2000a) concludes that there are four main areas within educational leadership that tended to be the focus of research in Taiwan from the 1980s to the early 1990s:

- leadership styles and school climate;
- leadership styles and school effectiveness;
- leadership styles and teachers' feelings;
- related concepts of leadership i.e. power, decision and communication.

During this period, research tended to be based on functionalism, questionnaires were widely used and gender was treated as one of many variables and not taken into serious consideration. In general, researchers did not challenge male-centred theories, and they marginalised women's experiences. The only two Master's dissertations about women educational managers in Taiwan during 1980s were conducted by questionnaires (Liu,1986; Yang,1982). These dissertations found that men principals are relatively more relationship-oriented while women principals are more task-oriented. However, this may not come as a surprise because the relationship-oriented culture is actually a feature of the Chinese bureaucratic system in Taiwan, and schools are no exception (as explained in Chapter 2). As women may not be able or expect to draw strong support from their network, they may well come to concentrate on tasks instead of people.

From the mid 1990s to the present, more interpretive, qualitative approaches have been adopted, though there are still few studies, and these have been mainly confined to examining the traditional categories of the principal's role and behaviour. In their analysis of educational administration and leadership research in Taiwan between 1989 and 1998,

Pan et al. (2000) found that only 4 out of 75 research studies focused on women's experience in particular. They conclude that most studies tend to focus on productivity and on the members' feelings about organizations. Neither these nor any studies which were conducted more recently have tried to explore women's specific problems, knowledge and experience. Most research has been conducted by questionnaires, which may not allow a deep understanding, may not provide the opportunity to explore issues further, or may be unable to provide detailed information about individual cases. Although interviews are also included in a few studies, these did not pay attention to the balance of gender in the selection of their samples.

My research is innovative in recognising that until recently school management and leadership in Taiwan has been characterised by the following features:

1. Access to promotion for school managers is very passive and is examination-based.
2. The bureaucratic system and tight control leave school managers little space (for vision and autonomy).
3. There is a clear-cut distinction between being a teacher and being a school manager, which results in a lack of communication between managers and teachers.
4. As there is an emphasis on moral leadership, school principals are expected to act as good role models for both staff and students.
5. The emphasis on democracy in school management affects every dimension of school education, i.e. curriculum, policy-making, communication, and management.

As rapid change has resulted from political democratisation, so has school leadership also been profoundly affected. School organization and the selection of principals are undergoing changes to meet the new requirements. The vision, values, and school culture

are affected by democratisation, but the values of the leaders, staff and society also need to be taken into consideration as members of organisations will almost certainly have their own value systems, and schools themselves develop their own qualities.

Insights from the themes and methods described in work on transformational leadership provide a valuable resource for school leaders in Taiwan during the process of school democratisation. They may receive a warm welcome as they match the direction of democratic reform, and they are associated, in ways which I am going to explore, with the rapid increase in the progress of women.

4.6 Conclusion

Discussion of school leadership has moved from an approach characterized by scientific and positivist assumptions to one that is concerned with gender difference and values in organizations. Distinguishing the two concepts of leadership and management, I have explained the necessity for using the term 'leadership' rather than 'management' in the discussion of school organisations in Taiwan. I have also noted that there are some common elements between feminist educational leadership and transformational leadership. The remainder of the thesis will support my assertion here that transformational leadership well suits the direction taken by school reforms in Taiwan, since its emphasis on vision, values, communication, power, network, and empowerment fit in the current rapid educational democratisation in Taiwan.

Chapter 5: Methodology

So far, this thesis has discussed the experience of women Taiwanese teachers working in a centralised educational system, and has reviewed literature in the UK, Australia, New Zealand and USA relating to school leadership and gender. I now move on to introduce the three research questions that this study set out to address.

1. Do men and women principals in Taiwan have distinct vision and values, and how do they perceive the position of principalship?
2. Are there differences in their engagement with the changes in schools during the process of democratisation?
3. Are principals perceived differently by their staff as a result of their gender?

This research uses both qualitative and quantitative methods. As Becker (1986:122) argues, both qualitative and quantitative researchers 'think they know something about society worth telling to others, and they use a variety of forms, media and means to communicate their ideas and findings.' Evetts (1994a: 87) also suggests that the choice of research methods could be the explanation for different findings regarding men and women managers in their perceptions of leadership. Qualitative studies, usually small-scale, but considerably more detailed, have suggested gender differences in style. Consequently, more emphasis is placed on qualitative research here as I intend to fully explore the possible aspects of gender differences of junior high school principals in Taiwan.

Qualitative research stresses the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of

inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Inquiry is purported to be within a value-free framework. (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:8)

In conceptualizing this research, I have also draw on some of the ideas associated with feminist post-structuralism. According to Humm (1995:216), feminist poststructuralists attack the notion of fixed and unitary cultural identities, by recovering, for example, hitherto under-represented forms of the feminine. Weiner (1997:150) shares the same opinion:

Drawing on the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault among others, poststructural *feminism* seeks to analyse in more detail the working of patriarchy in all its manifestations – ideological, institutional, organizational and subjective. Moving from the universal of liberal and radical feminism, social relations are viewed in terms of plurality and diversity rather than unity and consensus, enabling an articulation of alternative, more effective ways of thinking about or acting on issues of gender.

Thus, concepts such as ‘a good leader’ or ‘masculine’ may be unstable and open to contestation in different cultural and historical contexts. Using a similar approach, I shall seek to explore how gender identity and patriarchy work in a Taiwanese junior high school under the influence of Chinese culture.

As Flick (1998:4) has indicated, ‘the essential features of qualitative research are the correct choice of appropriate methods and theories; the recognition and analysis of different perspectives; the researchers’ reflections on their research as part of the process of knowledge production; and the variety of approaches and methods.’ I considered that through in-depth interviews with school staff in Taiwan, supplemented by school

observations and textual analysis, it would be possible to gather appropriate significant data to answer my questions. Such methods reduce the tendency for situations and individuals to be reduced to single variables, and enable them to be studied in their complexity in their daily context. Moreover, as the subjectivity of the researcher is part of the research process, my own reflections on actions, observations, impressions and feelings all became part of the data and produced the interpretation of the data.

5.1 Survey of a city

In order to gain a better understanding of the overall characteristics of principals in Taiwan, I first administered a questionnaire to all principals in junior high schools in a northern city of Taiwan. The reason for choosing this area was that it has a high percentage of women principals. The city also includes all types of schools. Therefore I considered that it would facilitate a comparative study between men and women principals and give a basis for drawing a sample for further study.

Questions were asked regarding gender, age, religion, political party, marital status, educational qualifications, the nature of their work, average working hours, and the enjoyment and satisfaction they gained from their work. I also interviewed some educational officials at the Bureau of Education and the Director of the Teacher Training Centre in the city.

The purpose of the questionnaire-based survey was to look closely at the general background of men and women principals and at their experience of principalship.

Cohen and Manion (1997) advise that '(t)he appearance of the questionnaire is vitally important. It must look easy and attractive.' As I was also aware that most principals are very busy, I tried to keep the questionnaire clear and simple to answer. I made extensive use of boxes where tick responses could be placed. All the questions were fitted on to one sheet of A4 paper so that it would not take too much time to answer. I asked the principals to answer anonymously. After the questionnaire was completed, I translated it from English to Chinese. I further asked a professor from a normal university in Taiwan, an official from Ministry of Education and a junior high school principal to review the questions for me to make sure that they were legitimate and would make sense to school principals. The mailing took place in October 1997. Of all the principals in 63 junior high schools in the city, there were 40 respondents, 25 of whom were men, and 15 women.

Forty respondents are not a large enough sample to validate statistically, although it was enough to give an overall picture. Therefore, I have used relatively simply descriptive accounts to present the results, as there is no need for complicated analytical statistics in this case. In most cases I have also put the actual number next to the calculated percentage so that readers will not be misled.

The result of the survey (see Appendix 12) does not show as clear gender differences as I had expected. However, it provides a general view of the background of the principals. Women principals in general tend to be younger. Most principals claimed to be Buddhists. The majority of principals belonged to the former ruling party. None belonged to the opposition parties or the current ruling party, and few claimed they did not belong to any.

Virtually all principals had studied in national normal universities in Taiwan. From their religion, marital status, political background and educational qualifications, we can see that principals in Taiwan are a fairly homogenous group.

However, the survey also shows that men principals generally have larger schools and are more senior, are more likely to find their workload heavy and are more likely to be married. It shows that it is not just that they are perceived as different leaders by those they manage, but also that those who employ them see them as different, and therefore give men bigger schools. Not to mention men tend to have less domestic responsibilities at home and thus are able to make more effort at work.

In terms of working conditions, there was no significant difference in working hours between men and women principals. In terms of the numbers of students and classes, men principals usually ran bigger schools. Most men principals were more senior than women. When asked whether they enjoyed and were satisfied with their work, all principals showed a high degree of enjoyment and satisfaction, but, 52% of men and 33% of women ticked 'too heavy' or 'heavy' when they were asked about their workload. None considered the work as relaxing or very relaxing.

Most principals also agreed that their main tasks are communication and negotiation and carrying out the government's policy. However, few agreed that the content of principalship is administrative work.

5.2, Qualitative research in eleven schools

The main part of this research was conducted in by visiting state junior high schools, I had originally intended to include 8 women principals and 4 men principals. However, I eventually only visited 11 schools with 8 women principals and 3 men principals. Interviews and observation were used as the main research methods.

Before my field trip to Taiwan, I did some pilot work (including interviews, observation and shadowing) with a Malaysian school principal and also a student hall manager in the UK in order to revise my research questions and also to gain better knowledge and understanding about the best strategies for conducting the research in Taiwan.

5.2.1 Getting general information

First, I consulted some people working in the normal universities in Taiwan about what should be done to conduct fieldwork in secondary schools in Taiwan. Later I talked to friends and civil servants, and decided to choose a city with a high percentage of women principals so that I could find my cases more easily. However, I was aware that this city might not be representative of Taiwan. Still, considering that all Taiwanese principals and teachers are trained and selected in a standard way, I decided that those of my chosen city might be able to represent Taiwan to a certain degree.

I also visited the Teacher Training Centre in Taipei⁴⁰ several times to understand the selection process and policies and to find out how they trained principals. I planned to observe the process of selecting principals or to go on principals' training courses. But this proved to be impossible, as they do not hold such events every year. I asked them about the performance of men and women principals and the reason why there have been more and more women principals in recent years. I also reviewed the media and press to find any comments on this issue.

5.2.2 Designing the interview questions

To obtain a better understanding of the role of the principal, I divided questions into four categories. First, about the principals' personal backgrounds: they were asked to provide a general outline of their family and educational background. I next asked them about their career experience, and their work as principals. The third set of questions was about their leadership experience: how they were promoted; and how and where they learned to manage schools; what they required from teachers; and how they selected their school managers and co-operated with the management team. I asked them to name three major incidents that had happened in their school; and I wanted to know about the role of parents, Teachers' Association and Teacher Appeal Senate in their schools. What was unique about each school compared with the nearby schools? Finally, they were asked about their vision for their schools: what did they think was the role of a principal, and what were the biggest pleasures and challenges for them in running their schools?

I also interviewed some managers and teachers in each school, to compare their accounts

⁴⁰ It is one of the three centres in Taiwan which are responsible for the selection and training of school

with those of the principals, and to have a more complete picture of the staff and the schools. I asked about their family, educational background and career routes at the beginning of each interview. Apart from giving me a better understanding of the career routes of schools, I believed that through telling me their personal stories at the beginning they would be more relaxed and more willing to talk more openly about their work at school.

The chart below shows areas covered in the questions given to principals, managers and teachers. Never having been a school manager myself, I asked several people to review my questions for me after arriving in Taiwan. The first was a university professor, the second an official working in the Ministry of Education and the third a senior principal from a well known junior high school in the city. After having face-to-face discussions with them, I revised my questions accordingly and started the school visits.

principals.

Diagram 5-1 Questions to principals, middle/junior managers and teachers in the 11 schools

	Principals	Middle /junior managers	Teachers
Family & educational background	family and educational background; career experience; administrative experience; becoming principals; changing schools and reasons for change.	Family and educational background; career experience; administrative experience; changing schools and reasons for change.	family and educational background; career experience; changing schools and reasons for change.
School management	hours spent in school every day; time allocation to various tasks, eg. meetings, paper work, etc.	how promoted; liking for their work; wish to continue and move on; main differences between this school and others nearby; whether their children study here; why or why not?	Differences between their school and others nearby; whether their children study here, why or why not?
Principals' leadership styles	How they are promoted; how and where they learned to manage schools; what they require from teachers; how they select their school managers and co-operate with them; three major incidents in this school? Role of parents, TAs and TASs in schools; the uniqueness of the school compared with nearby schools.	Principal's requirements for managers /teachers; how often they see him/her, and for what reason; who they talk to when they have problems at work; gender of current principal: different from the former one; difference between men and women principals; three significant incidents since the principal came; how the principal dealt with them.	Frequency of meeting the principal; how they are expected to behave; Issues usually discussed; principal's requirements for teachers; problems in the classroom: who usually talk to, why? how managers are promoted; current principal's gender different from the former one; difference between having men and women principals; three significant incidents in this school; how the principal dealt with them.
Vision & values	Role of principals in school now; biggest pleasures and challenges in running the school.	If they were school principals, would they do anything differently?	If they were school principals, would they do anything differently?

5.2.3 Gaining access

Gaining access is not a straightforward procedure, and access always affects the kind of investigation and the position it is possible to take (Burgess, 1991). There were two stages in finding suitable schools in Taiwan. In the first stage, I focused on the first six schools, and an official from the Ministry of Education was kind enough to find schools for me. Since his work was not directly related to that of his friends (the principals), I assumed that their relationship would not affect the results too much. He found me four women principals and one man principal. In the second stage, selecting six more schools, I tried to find schools by myself with the idea of making my cases represent the more general

situation of the city. I felt that I had talked to enough women principals; and I considered most of them were quite junior. Therefore, their schools could have developed differently to the development of larger schools. In the second round, I looked for some senior principals and more men principals. I still received advice from officials about which schools were worth visiting, but made the final choice by myself.

I tried first to gain official permission from the school principals, as they were to be my potential interviewees and they are also considered to have the authority to represent the school as a whole. It proved that once they agreed, their staff would agree to cooperate because of the authority of the principals. Still, I asked carefully for the cooperation of the staff (especially middle managers), as it was important to respect their right of veto, and also it was hoped to avoid causing arguments or problems for the principals.

5.2.4 Talking to gatekeepers

The level at which researchers enter a school will influence research relations and the kind of data that are obtained (Burgess, 1991:39). I usually telephoned the principal first and told them that they were recommended by certain officials or that I had heard about the reputation of their schools or I was interested in visiting their schools. Later, a letter (Appendix 5) was sent to them to introduce myself formally. Usually they were not surprised by the call, as they had been phoned by the official or had had my letter. When I visited the schools, I was clear about my entire research plan, which included conducting observations and interviews with staff.

Later, I usually had a further discussion with principals to clarify my position in the school and to ask permission to talk to staff and students. I discussed in outline my approximate plan of work with the principals the week before starting work in each school. At the beginning of every interview, I very briefly explained the purpose of the interview and also asked permission to record the conversation. I usually talked in general terms about themes and topics to be covered before every interview.

5.2.5 School interviews and observation

My data was mainly based on individual and semi-structured interviews with principals, heads of office (middle managers), teachers and other staff. In terms of semi-structured interviews, Brown and Dowling (1998) prefer to name it an 'unstructured interview' as it is more like having a conversation with interviewer 'from a relatively loose set of guidelines' (p.73).

The prime concern of the interviewer might be to see the world from the perspective of the interviewee and to construct understanding of how the interviewee makes sense of their experiences. (Brown and Dowling, 1998:73)

Anonymity and confidentiality were discussed with principals and with those teachers who agreed to co-operate. The non-participant observation used in this study included attending school managers' meetings, teachers' meetings and the morning student assembly twice in each school.

In conducting a study of school principals, I considered that my age, gender, and lack of practical experience in school management and social research experience could be

disadvantageous. To minimise difficulties, I was careful about my dress code and about how I presented myself in the schools. I presented myself to principals as an outsider doing research at the Institute of Education of the University of London. I did not specifically indicate that my research was focused on gender issues (see Section 5.5). To further my credibility, I also applied as a visiting student to the Academia Sinica, the highest-ranking academic institution in Taiwan. While affiliated directly to the President's Office in Taiwan, it has independence and autonomy in formulating its own research objectives. I wrote a letter to the Institute of Sociology, in the Academia Sinica and they accepted me. Therefore, not only could I use their facilities and resources, but I could also visit schools both as a research student from the University of London and as a research member of the Academia Sinica.

Many cross-cultural studies in the West include advice and experience on doing research in another culture (Vulliamy et al., 1990; Dimmock, 2002). For instance, in her visit to Taiwan, Davies (1997) found that people were inclined to show an attitude that 'we have no problems', while facing outsiders or foreign researchers.

However, I consider that these advice and experience of doing research in another country can hardly apply to my case. Though I was known to be studying abroad, I have lived in Taiwan for most of my life. Moreover, I shared the same culture, language, and working experience with all the people whom I had talked to as I had been a school teacher for 2 years. The facts that I was studying abroad and that my research would be written in English are actually advantages, as people had less fear about the consequence of the publication of my thesis in that they would not risk being identified.

Another point in my favour was that most people whom I had talked to were actually quite pleased that I used qualitative instead of quantitative methods, as they had been feeling frustrated by the numerous questionnaires and surveys that were often sent to them either directly from universities or indirectly through the Bureau of Education or the Ministry of Education. They also felt that they could explain issues in greater detail and carefully without misunderstanding through interviews than by completing questionnaires.

There were certain advantages and disadvantages in being a young woman researcher when conducting research in schools. I tried while talking to different people to develop different approaches that would be best for each my interview. I did not have the same experience that Scott (1985) found in her research on part-time postgraduate students. While she, as a young woman, interviewed women, she felt an immediate rapport with them. She found that there was a difference in the form and quality of her interviews with men, and also that the men she interviewed were more inclined to control the situation from the onset by making a great issue about how busy they were and therefore placing very tight time constraints on the interviews. In my own case, I felt that the three men principals were relaxed with me and were willing to give me sufficient time for interviews. Some women principals on the other hand, tried to set the limit of the time and the conversation, and also tried to influence the research by attempting to introduce teachers for me to interview. This links with my finding that women principals were perceived as more concerned with detail, while men were seen as more easy-going (Section 7.2).

I tried not to state any opinion until I was asked. This was to assure them that I was not there to challenge them, but to seek their professional experience and knowledge. I did have an uncomfortable feeling from time to time that I was taking up too much of their time. Principals were usually very polite, as they were aware that I was writing something about them. But when meeting two women principals in bigger schools, I felt that I was not able to keep things under my control but needed to accept what they offered me. I usually positioned myself as someone asking their advice because of their experience, instead of someone coming from academe to challenge them.

I usually interviewed each subject in a quiet room, and in most cases completed a formal interview with each person; occasionally the meeting was interrupted. I had more than one interview with one woman principal in School 7, and divided my interviews into two sessions with a man principal in School 9. Afterwards, I usually met the principals for a brief conversation in order to arrange meetings or interviews with other staff members. They sometimes also wanted to clarify issues from our interviews, in particular after or before the beginning of a meeting which I was scheduled to observe.

With middle, and junior managers and teachers, the situation was more relaxed. However, I had to get permission from principals to talk to middle managers. Recording the conversation was not a problem. Generally speaking, middle and junior managers tend to accept my requests once I told them that I have gained the agreement of the principal. For them, the principals' agreement usually made them feel that they should co-operate in the matter. I did not think it would affect the results much, as we usually had the interviews in

their own offices and confidentiality was also promised. They generally seemed to be quite willing to talk about their own working experiences.

However, my requests were frequently rejected by teachers who tended to be more indifferent to school management (see Section 7.1.3). They thus had less to talk about and did not want to give their spare time to me. I therefore developed a new approach by interviewing the chair of TA first in each school, as they would have more information about the school and were usually more willing to talk to me. Later, I would ask them to recommend their colleagues to me. This strategy worked rather well. I also promised not to inform the principals about data collected from teachers and school managers. Some teachers were at first less willing to participate, but, once we started the interviews, we had quite an enjoyable time. I usually asked their surname only, so that they would feel more secure about talking to me. I did not tell people that I was a teacher beforehand unless I was asked. I felt that if they assumed that I did not know much about their work or the people they had been involved with (officials, scholars and principals in the city) they would therefore take time to explain things in detail. They probably also felt more free to express their opinions since I was only a visitor in the city.

Oakley (1981) stresses that interviewing is a two-way process. The interviewer does not only receive but also needs to give information as well. This was indeed the case in my experience. During the interviews, I was consistently asked questions about what it was like to study in England, and some participants also asked me personal questions, while others asked me questions about the research and gave me advice.

Moreover, some principals did ask what other principals or their staff said. I did not reveal to others the data that I had collected, but sometimes, to start them talking, I mentioned important issues that I had heard from other schools (without giving specific schools' or individual's names) as it was important for them to know how much I had heard from others, to enable them to decide how much they wanted to tell me. This worked quite well.

I tried to observe one to two managers' and teachers' meetings in each school. During the meetings, I sat in a corner if possible. Some principals just let me sit there without offering any explanation as to why I was there. Some asked permission from the teachers first. Some asked me to comment publicly on their meetings after they were finished. It was always very challenging to attend a meeting, as the nature of each meeting and the culture of each school was very different. Moreover, the way in which principals included me in the meeting also indicated how they managed things in general. Generally speaking, men principals usually briefly introduced me in the beginning of the meetings and did not ask much about my opinions after the meetings finished. Women principals, on the other hand, were inclined to explain more about how their meetings function and the atmosphere of their meetings in general. One woman principal asked permission of all school staff representatives in the meeting before I took part in their meeting. Another one did not explain to anyone why I was there, but she explained to me in detail afterwards about why people reacted and talked in certain ways during the meeting. In another meeting held by an experienced woman principal, she gave instructions most of the time and the staff did not have much chance to speak. I recorded most conversations in the meetings.

The visits to each school usually took place within 2 to 4 weeks. Some were longer. I usually visited each school 5 to 6 times for interviews and meetings. I tended to start by interviewing principals, then school managers, then teachers. The purpose of this sequence was that I could move around the campus more easily if the managers were familiar with me. I usually had to wait a few days before the principals or middle managers fixed a date and time with me. I felt that it was difficult to deal with two schools at the same time, not because I had a busy schedule but because I was afraid that the appointments might clash with each other. In small schools, this was less of an issue as the principals and middle managers could be more flexible with their time. The average time taken for the interviews was half an hour. In the case of principals, interviews usually lasted at least one hour and sometimes several hours. In one particular school, I visited the principal at the beginning of my fieldwork and went back 6 months later. This was because she was new to the school though she was a very senior principal. I did not want to give up the opportunity of working with her, as I felt it was difficult to get senior principals' agreement, since they usually work in bigger schools or prefer to participate in projects related to the government. Also, her name appeared often in the local media. In general, I consider that what was said represents a general picture of the situation of principals in the city. Moreover, as most interviews were conducted in private without the presence of others, I think that the data have a reasonable degree of validity.

The schools chosen for interview varied from those in the commercial city center to the outskirts of the city, with sizes varying from 6 classes only to huge schools with more than 3,000 students. I visited 11 junior high schools, interviewing the principals (3 men

and 8 women) and their staff. The reason I did not work in a twelfth school as planned was because the first 11 schools took more time than expected. My original plan was to find another man senior principal in a well-established school. However, I was not left with much choice, since about 46% of the principals in junior high schools in that city were women, and many were new because other principals had sought early retirement. They were reported to have found it difficult to adjust to the present school climate and the government's educational policies.

I asked the advice of a senior man principal who happened to be in a well established school in the city. I did not want to make this request to another principal whom I knew personally to avoid further complicating the fieldwork process. Therefore, after being turned down by three of them (as most principals in big schools are busier than others), I decided that since I had already included one man principal in a big school in my sample and also since I discovered that most of my interviewees had experienced working with senior men principals in their career, another one might not be essential. Also, by then my time in Taiwan was running out.

I did not promise to show the results of my work to my interviewees, fearing further complications, but when people asked, I promised to show them later. In the event, most of them did not ask for feedback. In total, across the eleven junior high schools, I interviewed the principals (3 men and 8 women), 26 middle managers (16 men, 10 women), 2 junior managers (both women) and 22 (7 men, 15 women) teachers.

5.2.6 Other data

Apart from conducting interviews, I also collected documents about educational policies from the Department of Education in Taiwan Province; and the Bureaus of Education of Taipei and Kaousiung – the only three places that hold principalship examinations. I asked for documents such as application forms for principalship, programmes for training principals and some statistics. As the city in which I conducted my research is not far from Taipei, I intended to ask permission from the Bureau of Education in Taipei to join the training sessions or talk to some examiners in order to understand their criteria for selecting principals, and the content and the purpose of the training sessions. But this proved not to be possible as there was a mayoral election in December 1998 and another party took over the mayoral seat. After that, many things came to a halt and the director told me that things might change since the new mayor would work with a different team and they might want to do things differently. Probably the reason why they could afford to wait was that they did not have a serious shortage of principals.

The second kind of document collected related to school policies, activities, teaching plans, students' evaluations, booklets and letters produced for parents. I usually got the agreement of the principal first, but most often, I renegotiated with the middle managers and other managers to have access to this data. Other material included school activities for the last few years and the current year, school policies dealing with students' behavioural problems, school policies about students' academic achievements, and records of students' academic performance during the last academic year, together with school policies regarding students' welfare in schools.

Getting basic information about the schools was important as it provided insights into the principals' role. I tried to gain information about the location of each school and a general picture of the school buildings; the distinguishing features of the school (eg. computerised learning environment; the preservation of Taiwanese local culture, sport); the academic achievements of the school; the student and teacher population; the percentage of boy and girl students; the percentage of men and women teachers; the percentage of men and women managers (both junior and senior); educational goals; and the working hours of the principals.

I also kept a record of the process of getting access to schools and the experience of visiting them as a young woman researcher. I usually included the reasons for selection, the procedures for and responses to my contact with them, problems and difficulties, negotiations and results, together with a commentary in my diary. The internet also proved to be a very powerful research tool. All schools in Taiwan have set up their own websites as required by Ministry of Education, and these provided me with a great deal of detailed information.

There are always limitations on the outcome of data collection. First, due to the limited time, I could only include a maximum of eleven schools in my research. I usually visited two schools at around the same period, as I had to fit in with their schedule and could not visit them whenever I wanted. Oakley (1998) points out the problem of a small sample is that any 'insights gained are likely to reflect the social world of the research participants (p. 714). However, in Acker's (1999) research about women teachers, she argues that there would still be problems even if many people were interviewed as they are such a

diverse group. Secondly, the principals occupied a much higher position than I did as a student researcher. Consequently, I sometimes felt I did not control the situation. Thirdly, it seemed that many of the women principals in my study were junior. I did not have much choice, because it is only recently that there have been more women teachers willing to take the principalship examination. Fourthly, the data collection and interpretation were based on my personal subjective experience: a different researcher might conduct the same research but reach somewhat different conclusions.

5.3 Data processing

After obtaining the data, I transcribed them in Chinese first so as to ensure the accuracy of the transcription. I tried to transcribe some of them in Taiwan, but finished most of them three months later, on my return to London with the help of a transcribing machine. During the transcription, I also spent some time reading them through, looking for significant themes to follow.

There are certain issues involved in any translation. Anthropologists like Godfrey Lienhardt have insisted that the notion of translation is not only a linguistic one, but concerns 'modes of thought' (Asad, 1986). John Beattie's *Other Cultures* (1964, 89-90), also emphasised the problem of translation for social anthropology, and tried to distinguished culture from language.

After finishing transcription, I began the analysis by starting to translate the transcriptions into English. I frequently changed the terminology in order to express the meaning better.

For example, following the American system, Taiwanese school managers are usually called ‘administrators’ instead of ‘managers’. The broader meaning of school ‘administrators’ could cover anyone from principals to messengers, in fact any member of the non-teaching staff in a school. The same also applies to the terms ‘administration’ and ‘management and leadership’. I thought about using ‘administrators’ instead of ‘managers’ in my translation. However, I found that this would be inaccurate, because of the nature of their work. I also decided to use ‘principal’ instead of ‘head teacher’ as commonly used in the UK for fear that the term ‘head teacher’ might mislead readers.

There was a great deal of slang in the conversation, some in Taiwanese dialects. I have tried to find comparable expressions in English, preferably also in slang. However, when some terms are positive or neutral in Chinese, they may be negative in English. For example, many people used ‘da-er-hwa-zhe’ to describe men principals. The term itself is quite neutral, and was interpreted depending on the context. It could mean ‘not fussy’, or ‘easy-going’ or ‘negligent.’ However, these adjectives all have strong and loaded meanings in English, and I was concerned that readers might be misled by improper translation. Therefore, it was necessary to find other ways of translating them.

Gellner (1959) also notices that translation inevitably carries a value connotation – that it is, either Good or Bad. However, Asad (1986) disagreed with the extent of this kind of impact on translation, contending that translation does not only involve matching ‘sentence for sentence’; in addition, ‘the appropriateness of the unit employed itself depends on the principle of coherence.’ (p. 147)

I am fully aware that a perfect sort of translation is impossible and that there are many ways to translate any Chinese sentence into an English one. Therefore, Asad's (1986) emphasis on 'coherence' seems to be good advice (p. 147). Furthermore, the difference between me and these Western anthropologists is that I am trying to translate my native culture and language into a foreign language, English, a language of which I am not in full command. In some ways, I have contrary advantages and disadvantages, as I am now the researcher from an 'alien' culture and who seeks to clarify issues in the Western context. An English audience will certainly form their own opinions and understandings from the things I have described and written.

At the end of each conversation quoted, there is an indication of the gender of the participant (M/F), the positions (T stands for teachers, J for junior managers and S for middle managers) and the school of the respondents. Also, the use of '...' means that there was a silence and the use of '(...)' means that part of the conversation is omitted.

The Mandarin romanization system I use in this thesis is *Hanyu Pinyin System*, a system prevalent in China and most Mandarin-speaking countries, instead of the *Tongyong Pinyin System*, which is 85 % similar to the *Hanyu system* and became the official Mandarin romanization system in Taiwan in 2002. The *Tongyong system* was created by a group of 'pro-Taiwan' linguists who said their system is more suitable for teaching native languages to the children of Taiwan. The issue has been pending for years as it was seen as a highly political matter. My decision to use the *Hanyu system* is based on the fact that it was more extensively used among Chinese studies in the West.

I also believe it is important to indicate the significant role of the researcher, whose individual experience may affect the outcome of the research. Maguire (2001a) points out another kind of representation issue than the size of the samples: the danger of misrepresentation by the researcher. Oakley (1998) also indicates that ‘the subjectivity of the researcher remains, as in all science, a potential influence on the knowledge claims that are made. (p. 723)’ According to Fine (1998:137), ‘the social sciences have been, and still are, long on texts that inscribe some Others, preserve other Others from scrutiny, and seek to hide the researcher/writer under a veil of neutrality or objectivity.’ Maguire draws on Lather (1997) and Skeggs (1997) and suggests moving beyond accurate and realistic representation into ‘a recognition of narratives as “interrogative” texts which “reflects back... the problems of inquiry.”’ (Maguire, 2001a: 234)

5.4 Data analysis

There has been a growing emphasis upon the importance of qualitative researchers revealing the processes by which they have analysed and validated their data (Silverman, 1993 & 2000; Bryman & Burgess, 1994; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Watling, 2002). Some researchers, like Miles and Huberman (1994), argue for rigorous techniques for data collection and analysis. Others, such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that the traditional concepts associated with positivist research are not applicable to qualitative research. In describing this research, I have tried to report the process of my data analysis, in order to validate the results of my research.

As the school management culture in Taiwan is highly bureaucratic and centralised, it

became clear that it would not appropriate to analyse the data according to the common categories found in Western literature. Originally, I tried to categorise the principals according to the concerns which they emphasised, such as being student-centred, the curriculum, staff development, teaching, extra-curriculum, managing finance and resources, and reshaping school policy-making processes. However, the centralised context made all these areas quite insignificant, as many tasks related to them are reduced to paperwork only in schools. I tried also to find out if the 11 principals showed any different degree of concern about various tasks because of their gender differences. However, even though the data gathered seemed quite indicative, eleven principals are really not enough to draw firm conclusions, nor even to represent what is going on in the city as a whole. Therefore, it became clear that I needed to look at my data from a different perspective. I decided to code the data according to the frequency of certain features that interviewees saw and mentioned about men and women principals. I first read through my data thoroughly several times, and then highlighted the vocabulary and terms which were used most often about men and women principals. I then reorganised the findings into three sections, which included all the middle managers' opinions about men and women principals in general, as they had usually experienced many principals in the course of their careers.

I was considering using the computer software, Nud*ist. But I did not use it in the end, because Nud*ist had not developed a Chinese version and I did the interviews in Chinese, and also, I may not need it after I go back and start working in Taiwan. In addition, Stanley and Temple (1996, cited in Robson, 2002) compare a widely word processing package (Word for Windows) with other five specialist programs (the Ethnograph,

askSAM, ethno, Nud*ist, and InfoSelect) and conclude that for many researchers, the facilities that a good word-processing package provides will be sufficient for the analysis required (p. 167). Therefore, I decided not to use the Nud*ist programme, as I considered Word for Windows, highlighters and handwritten charts would be sufficient for my analysis.

The three organizing sections for the materials are thus:

1. The perceptions of principalship and the vision and values held by men and women principals in Taiwan. The career routes of principals and middle managers in the school are also introduced, to give a better understanding of the background.
2. How men and women principals are seen as leading differently; and in what aspects?
3. People's preference of working with men and women principals; how principals' performances are perceived and evaluated by their staff who bear gender stereotypes of men and women.

During the process of analysis, I also realised that there is a cultural difference in how questions are answered, as indirect answers are very common among Taiwanese people. I knew it was essential to interpret the answers from a cultural perspective so that people from Western backgrounds would understand them better.

- For example, one middle manager described a delay in school construction because of heavy rain. The woman principal had asked him and the construction workers to work until midnight to get things done, as she said the deadline was set already. He also described another incident when a student was attacked, and they worked so hard to solve the problem that eventually even the victim's parents asked them to go home and rest. However, he did not criticise the principal openly, and merely said that she gave him full support and authorised him to do many things. I could only tell he was unhappy from occasional sentences, like 'actually,

I struggled a lot at that time,' 'I was trying to make myself feel better,' and 'I tried to work very hard and did not want to think too much'. I could detect his disapproval.

- Another instance of this was when I asked a young teacher if she would like to be a manager. Instead of giving me a yes or no answer, she told me that it was not up to her to decide as many principals make it a condition for those who apply for posts that they will be managers in schools. Since she did not see herself having the freedom to choose whether to be or not to be a manager, she did not see any need to consider whether she liked it or not.

Such lack of clear-cut answers added to the difficulties in interpreting the data.

Furthermore, documentary analysis can be used as a subsidiary method for research; for example to provide triangulation within a case study. Alternatively, it can be the major method (Cortazzi, 2002: 208) I have acquired a large amount of fieldnotes, policy documents, regulations, curriculum documents, schemes of work, school prospectuses, newsletters, and information from the web sites. I did not quote directly from many of my observation notes and school papers, because they were mainly used as background material enabling me to understand better what was happening in each school. Also, I considered that I gathered very rich material through the interviews.

5. 5 Ethical concerns

It seems that ethical issues appear everywhere in research. As Barnes has indicated, 'fieldwork involves compromise and negotiation – not only on the part of the researcher but also between researcher and researched' (cited in Burgess, 1989:74). The extent to which research purposes are revealed, issues of confidentiality, and the dissemination of

data needed to be carefully dealt with, in addition to the gaining of informed consent.

My first concern regarded the extent of information it was possible to give. According to Cohen and Manion (1997: 357), if researchers do not want their potential interviewees to know too much about the hypothesis, they can present an explicit statement at a fairly general level, with one or two examples of items that are not crucial to the study as a whole. I considered whether downplaying the gender factor while asking questions was proper or not in this case. On the one hand, total honesty might cause rejection or a distortion in the data, or might influence the results in other ways. On the other hand, trying to hide my real research purpose also gave rise to ethical concerns. Total honesty seemed impossible since I considered it might affect the degree of cooperation and also mislead respondents into giving me 'politically-correct' answers. However, preserving secrecy might also create the problem of suspicion and cause rumours about me and my 'real' intentions. In the end, when I explained my research topics to my interviewees, I emphasised school leadership rather than gender. I only explained further when they asked related questions, but few did.

Secondly, as many interviewees asked me to deal with my data discreetly, I actually found it difficult to decide how to exercise my personal judgment in the best way. Thus, I tried hard to disguise the people and schools that I visited so that they would not be recognised in Taiwan.

Another concern was the impact of the research on the participants. The interviewing process provided principals, managers and teachers with a chance to reflect on their

working experience, while they were fully aware that I was meeting people from different positions in their schools. This might lead to consequences for their school culture. As Stanley and Wise (1983) point out, oppressive practices might also be embedded in the research process itself. I was aware of the possibilities of exploitation, intrusiveness and objectification involved in research, and the criticism of researchers invading people's lives for the purpose of their own career development. However, the best I could do was to try not to make any judgments or comments in each school, in order to minimise the 'damage' that I might cause in these schools.

5.6 Basic information about the eleven schools

This next section provides a brief introduction to each school, and relates how the current principals came to their schools. The principals are introduced according to the size of their schools. Each principal is given a code, i.e. W1 or M1. I thought about giving them English names so that it would be easier for Western readers to read them, but then decided that, as names are also part of the culture, giving them English names seems to change who they are. Therefore, I decided against doing so. In Appendix 9, I also give a brief introduction to the rest of the interviewees that I have talked to in the eleven schools.

In general, most schools are suffering from falling rolls because of demographic changes, and it is considered successful to maintain the numbers in their classes. Most school buildings in Taiwan are similar to each other, as I was told, because many of them were built by the Veteran Construction Agency at an earlier time. They are usually built in a U shape with a field in the middle. The first building which I encountered usually consisted

of offices for managers. There is always a hallway that displays students' work and the name of the week (see page 40). Many school managers (including the principals) wear a card with their names and positions. Usually when I visited the school, the security guard in the entrance would asked me to leave my ID with the guard in exchange for a guest card. Then the guard would phone the assistant or the principal to say that I had arrived. The procedure was less strict in smaller schools.

Diagram 5-2 Basic information about the 11 schools visited

School	Principals	No. of classes & students	The Schools	The women principals
1	W1	10 [253]	W1's school was located on the top of a mountain. The parents were mainly farmers. The school was built along a hill. The staff were young. There was only one main road leading to the school and traffic was always a problem. Teachers had to take turns to be managers here because they could not find people to do the work.	W1 had always wanted to be a manager. She moved to this city because she considered she would have a better chance of becoming one here. She worked very hard to pass the principalship qualifying examination. She talked in quite a frank way and got some complaints from staff for this. She considered that she was still 'learning to become a head'. She enjoyed people saying that she was young and pretty.
2	W2	26 [615]	Before W2 came, the numbers of students in this school were decreasing rapidly. W2 was the first female principal in this school. I was told that things were rather slow before as they all retired here. The catchment was part of a business area that used to receive many Japanese visitors. During the 60s, there were many American soldiers here and it eventually became famous for prostitution. There were a considerable number of students raised by single mothers. Consequently, they lost many good students. Teachers had a good relationship with each other here probably because this school was not so academically oriented so there was less competition among teachers.	W2 was in her early 40s, well dressed and confident. She was rather girly. She had long hair and often wore a long skirt. She had been a school manager for a long time. She applied for the principalship examination because she needed a good reason to leave her previous school. W2 was very outgoing and she got along well with students though some teachers were not very used to her way of talking. Some people praised her for changing the school in a very subtle way.
3	W3	32 [805]	W3's school was a middle-sized school situated in an old community. There was a small airport nearby which created considerable noise. The campus was not large. The buildings were old, but tidy. The residents in this area were mainly lower class and there were many small shops and restaurants in this area. The school tried very hard to keep students because there was another school with a better reputation nearby. W3 was the first woman principal here. I sensed a tension between teachers and school managers, in particular the principal.	W3 was in her early 50s and married. She had taught in primary schools before. She used to work in the same school as her husband. When her husband left his post, the school asked her to take the administrative position left by the husband. She was reassigned to a junior high school after completing her BA and asked to be a school manager again. She planned to retire (from state schools) this year, and was thinking of working in a private school later because of her personal religious beliefs.
4	W4	40 [1,196]	W4's school had a very lively and active atmosphere. It was a relatively new school. The staff seemed to be very used to visitors. Students were asked to participate in lots of decision-making, for instance in dress, or the choice of guest speakers every Monday. For this reason, staff in the school had quite different opinions about the principal because of her liberal views and approach. They also lost some students for this reason. The area was developing very quickly and many residents had only moved here very recently.	W4 was in her early 40s, single and still a research student. She was a primary school teacher before. She chose this career for financial reasons and because she was the eldest daughter at home. She was a principal of a primary school before she came here. W4 often participates in national educational reform projects. It was also unusual that she was still teaching in school. She seemed to have a very good relationship with students as they dropped by her office to talk to her a lot, and some just called her Mum.

5	W5	45 [1,490]	W5's school had suffered from a major scandal a few years ago. For some years, the school lost many students. Things started improving after the ex-principal arrived. Now more and more students were coming back. The area was also developing very rapidly as more and more residents moved in. The school was noted for its space, therefore, they tried to make the most of it by building up camping sites, a biological garden etc, which were sponsored by parents and the community and had many visitors every year. I felt that it was a peaceful environment.	This was W5's second school. She was married, in her late 40s and had two children. Her major is Civic Education. She became a teacher for financial reasons, to do with the family. After she graduated, she was asked to be a junior manager because of her major in university. She was not particularly ambitious nor resistant about being a head. She got much encouragement from her seniors and colleagues. However, it was quite difficult for her to gain agreement from her husband's family to pursue principalship.
6	W6	49 [1,427]	The school was situated in a suburban area of the city. It seemed rather far from the centre because of some hills in between. However, it had improved since the transportation improved greatly. This area was considered a good place for children to grow up because there were universities and colleges nearby. This school had a quite long history. I did not see many young teachers and was also told that most teachers retired here. Most middle managers had been here for a long time and they had a good relationship with each other.	W6 was married and in her early 50s. This was her first school. Her major was Civic Education. She was a primary teacher before and became a teacher for financial reasons. She did her BA after working a few years in primary schools. She was always interested in being a manager. However, she did not pursue this until her children were grown up and her husband became a school principal himself. W6 seemed to have much direct interaction with students, in particular students with special needs. She also showed her feelings and emotions to her colleagues often. She seemed to have a very 'motherly' attitude.
7	W7	54 [1,791]	W7 was assigned to this school for a special reason. From 1999, this school started taking senior high school (yr. 10-12) students as well. There were several other junior high schools undergoing this change at about the same time in the city. In this school, the numbers of junior high school teachers had to be reduced and senior high school teachers needed to be recruited. This created panic among teachers fearing they would be forced to transfer to other junior high schools, as the principals wanted to recruit new teachers with better qualifications. I sensed an unsettled feeling when I went there.	W7 was single and a senior principal in her 50s and frequently interviewed by the media. She had always been a school manager since she started her career. People just said that she should do it. She was very much involved in national educational reform projects. Consequently, she was out for meetings a lot. She was very confident and also quite an awesome figure. During a meeting, she did most of the talking and told staff what to do. She said that she spent a great deal of money on educating herself. Many staff said that her ideas were very advanced.
8	W8	94 [3,549]	W8's school was one of the biggest in the city and located in the downtown area. I went to interview her during the school spring vacation because she often went to school. There were still many students in school, which meant that this was a very academically-oriented school. Many parents were lawyers, doctors or university teachers. I was told that their students seemed to go abroad often and some spoke good English. I found that middle managers had changed very frequently since W8 came.	W8 was a senior principal and divorced. She was recommended by a woman principal to become a manager after getting divorced. In general, she seemed to be very much in control. We made all negotiations through the assistant. I noticed that there were three assistants in her office. In her office, she displayed all the names of students and their academic achievement on the wall. Once, when I visited her, she was conducting another meeting in her office. The assistant asked me to come after 12:00 (lunchtime). She said the principal never takes a break in school.

			The schools	Men principals
9	M1	6 [168]	M1's school was small. One of the male middle managers had to be in charge of two departments and another woman middle manager was only an acting one. The parents in this school were mainly farmers. Currently, the school was facing many challenges because the university nearby is planning to set up its own secondary school which would put the school in a more difficult situation. Under such circumstances, some educational reform advocates persuaded the local government to try an experimental project. I felt M1 was not exactly in control of the situation as there was a teacher in charge of the whole plan. Probably because its location was far from the center of the city, the atmosphere of the school was quite relaxed.	This was M1's first school. He was in his late 50s and married. He had not had many years of management experience, as he had never worked as a junior manager. He just waited until his seniority reached the requirement, then he applied for the qualifying examination for middle manager. This was rare, as most principals had usually started their career as junior managers. He did not seem to be very happy here. He was hoping to go to a bigger school soon.
10	M2	30 [673]	From the number of classes in each grade, I noticed the rapid decrease in students. The school was located in the city centre. It is an old community and the area was notorious for crime and gangsters. The principal planned to transform the school into a specialist art senior high school eventually because he considered this was the only future for the school. The school had quite a masculine culture, probably because of its location. I saw some corporal punishment on campus even though it was forbidden by law. The school kept some dogs for safety reasons. A high percentage of the students had single parents. I noticed that one of the offices was nearly empty in the afternoon, because teachers finished their work and left.	M2 was in his 60s. He came to this school because he had problems in his previous school. He was very interested in school building construction and told me how many schools he had helped to build during his career. M2 had not been a principal for a long time. However, I sensed a feeling of urgency; that he wanted to have as many things done as soon as possible because of his age and also because the usual period for a principal to stay is four years (at most 8 years).
11	M3	71 [2,174]	The school catchment area was under transformation as many new business centres and department stores had appeared. However, the school was suffering from a decrease in students. The campus was spacious because of many empty classrooms. One of the managers had to be in charge of two departments because they could not fill the vacancy. I felt that the atmosphere between the principal; the managers and teachers was very good. However, one manager suggested that a stricter approach might be better for the school. Some parents were sending their children to a more competitive place to study.	M3 was a senior man principal and in his 60s. He was very relaxed, and I was given considerable freedom to meet people in the school. He had always been a school manager from the beginning. He did not think that it was a difficult job for him. He considered himself quite flexible and approachable. Some teachers saw him as considerate and understanding.

Chapter 6 School Principals in Taiwan: their changing roles and their vision

This chapter presents findings from the interviews on different positions and understandings of the Taiwanese school and its context. The data indicate a conflict of vision and values between principals and school staff, and I shall explore how this may affect the challenges of democratisation in schools in Taiwan.

In the first section, I start by indicating how school principals in Taiwan perceive their roles and show that most of the principals interviewed perceive their role to be (1) a position with no power; (2) the practice of democratic purpose; and (3) confused as to what to do. People seem to acknowledge and welcome the trend towards democracy but the interviewees suggest that school principals encounter great difficulty in defining their role.

The second section looks at how people become school teachers, managers and principals, in order to understand why school principals have had difficulty in adjusting during the educational reform in Taiwan which started in the late 1990s. I found that both men and women usually become managers in an apparently passive way, as ambition should not be shown openly in the Chinese society. Moreover, the educational reforms generally disrupted managers' relationship with others, which tends to be a great concern for Chinese people. Many people's alternative values about their career may thus have discouraged them from applying to become managers (principals), and may also discourage them in carrying out their work.

In the last section, I shall show how school principals in Taiwan form their vision. The centralised education system brings out a shared vision in Taiwan: school principals claim to be student-centred, interested in developing a diverse curriculum, and in involving teachers, students and parents more in decision-making. They also claim to emphasise the individual needs of each school.

However, I also found that the principals' and managers' vision seemed to encounter great resistance from teachers who used to be the privileged group in schools in Taiwan. Furthermore, there is a paradox: school managers who have high respect for authority because of Chinese culture and political influence, have become the key executives and promoters of democracy.

It seems particularly important to recall the enigmatic and cryptic comments shown during the interviews mentioned in the previous chapters. Most people avoided giving direct answers or showing their real attitudes. Compliance is another feature that can easily be confused with ambiguity. When asked their reasons for becoming school managers, many said that they saw themselves as powerless, or attributed reaching their position to outside forces. Even if some of them showed considerable interest in becoming school managers, they talked about it in a reserved way.

In Chapter Four, I referred to an extensive literature in the West from the 1970s to early 1990s which echoes many of the current concerns in Taiwanese schools and society though gender awareness has only recently started to attract attention in Taiwan.

6.1 How principals perceive their role

The following section explores how school principals perceived their role in the 1990s. My findings suggest that the on-going educational reform has brought much confusion to their role.

6.1.1 A position with no power

Smith (1997) indicates that school principals in Taiwan are generally comfortable with giving orders or transmitting information from the government. They appear powerful in this hierarchical system. However, the reform seems to have disrupted their work and forced them to reassess their roles. This is a result of the government's efforts at decentralisation. Local educational authorities, teachers, students and parents have gained a great deal of power in the process. Principals, however, seem to be caught in the middle.

The following two accounts show that not only principals, but also teachers, notice that principals do not have much actual power.

The space for me to do things is very limited. For example, abolishing national joint examinations, the failure of some experimental projects (...) I always pass the messages from the Bureau of Education to staff. We have school meetings every semester. (...) We are civil servants. We have to know the limits. When a supervisor comes in and gets you, you cannot argue with them. The regulations are there. (W3)

I think the principal does not have much actual power. But if anything goes wrong,

the principal has to take sole responsibility. It's a post with no substance. (...) Nowadays, the principal does not have much power. Therefore, when she makes demands, there is resistance. (T1, F, School 3)

W3 sees the position of principalship as having no actual power because the government has set the main direction for them and they simply execute the educational policy decided at the top. She also sees these principals' educational beliefs as basically matching those of the government, otherwise they would not have been selected.

W6 does not like to be associated with the 'traditional power' that used to be ascribed to principals. M1 has a very different perspective.

Everyone likes power. But you have power, you also have to share responsibility.(...) Traditional principals think once their power is removed, they will lose their dignity. That is why I keep saying I don't know how to be a principal (meaning a principal in a traditional way.) (W6)

Let's be honest, the principal is only a supervisor. The people who do things are middle managers. (...) I think leadership is human interaction, it's mutual respect.(...) It's about communication and negotiation. (...) It's not easy. The different confusing values, the age differences... I do not like authority myself but my background does affect my judgment. (...) Of course, the school is different from the army. ... Before, few people went to the principal's office even though there was no security guard there (in front of the office). You felt the atmosphere showed that there was a supreme authority there. Now if you walk inside the campus without wearing a suit, it's possible that no one will recognise you as the principal. (M1)

M1 mourned the loss of authority as a principal. He was aware of the changes, but seemed to prefer the old ways, even though he talked about 'mutual respect', and 'communication and negotiation'. The issue of not being recognised as a principal in the campus is

something which the women principals did not mention, as the traditional way of leadership was always associated with men and women are often not recognised as principals.

The traditional principal in Taiwan can be seen as a kind of charismatic leader: 'regarded by his or her followers with a mixture of reverence, unflinching dedication and awe' (Bryman, 1992: 41), or as Leithwood et. al. describe, leaders who:

create trust among colleagues in their ability to overcome any obstacle and are a source of pride to have as associates. Colleagues consider these leaders to be symbols of success and accomplishment, and to have unusual insights about what is really important to attend to; they are highly respected by colleagues. (Leithwood, et. al. 1999: 57)

6.1.2 The practice of 'democratic' principles

It is a democratic society now. You need to interact with each other and respect each other. It is difficult to say whether this is better or worse. (M1)

As I have discussed in Section 2.1, democratisation is the critical issue for Taiwanese people, as it relates to the national identity and the future of all 22 million Taiwanese. Thus, as democratisation has become one of the central principles in the government's educational reform agenda in Taiwan, newly arrived principals have adopted the supposed 'democratic' principle quickly, though some experienced ones have applied it at a slower pace.

W1, a new principal, indicated that she was very concerned about democracy:

I am concerned about democracy. (...) Administration is to do things for people. You need some skills and methods to do things for people. (...) You do not just think about your own ideals, you need to help others to achieve theirs. Therefore, you need to be concerned about what the majority think. (W1)

W4's ideas seemed to be very advanced in seeing herself as employed by the parents. The challenging task is probably however bringing the school staff to share her vision.

I think the role of the principal is like a catalyst. You add it and it stimulates power. (...) I expect to run a school that belongs to all staff, students and parents...Our whole-school meeting is the most powerful organisation in school. I always sit at the back and let teachers or other staff and messengers chair meetings. I rarely chair any meeting now. (...) Of course, there is always the issue that the principal should have the final say. (W4)

Three men principals all show an understanding of the current focus on democracy on campus. However, they appear to be less enthusiastic about democratisation than their women colleagues.

Principal XXX has had a big influence on me. (...) Also, the outside environment influences me a great deal. The major trend is democratic leadership now. (M2)

Probably it has something to do with age. I am older and people pay me more respect. The other reason could be that I know how to adapt. Now, more people can come and help (participate in management). I do not lose anything, and everyone can share the work with me. I have always thought in this way and I don't insist that things must be done in certain ways. (M3)

M3's strength was probably as he said related to his age (and gender) and he was also

aware of his power. Even facing change, he was still at ease, which suggests that his seniority probably made all the difference.

Nevertheless, as Diamond (1996) suggests, democratic performance is affected by a number of factors that pull in contradictory directions, i.e. the tensions between conflict and consensus, between representativeness and governability, and between consent and effectiveness. It is necessary for principals, as well as people in general, to see that these contradictions exist within any democracy, rather than having uncritical attitudes and a superficial understanding of the application of democracy in the campus, such as some principals quoted above have shown.

6.1.3 Confusion as to what to do

Many principals complained about the uncertainty of their role. Although the regulations had changed, they saw themselves as still having to take full responsibility, as the principals.

One woman principal was willing to accept what the government has to say about her job as a middle manager (see Section 2.2.3). However, she felt that she had not been given a clear idea about her role in school.

Those who promote education reform can criticize us (principals), but we can not criticize them. (...) The power of principals can not be weaker now. (...) The system is a mess and the regulations have not been clarified. It is not about whether I accept TA or TAS, I just expect a clearly defined role (as a principal), whether the system is led by a person or a committee. (W9)

Blandford (1997) indicates that such role confusion is a crucial issue for many middle managers in other systems too.

A middle manager is a teacher, leader and team member. Therefore there are problems and ambiguities which exist and can be resolved with a greater understanding of management. (p. 15)

The principal below suspects that the confusion may arise from his background.

[Is it easy to manage staff?] No, it is not easy. There is much confusion over values and age differences also matter. I do not like authority, but my background affects my judgment. (M1)

Moreover, the rapid educational reform through which central and local educational government passed power directly to teachers instead of to school principals (see Section 2.2.3) could be another main factor.

In terms of primary and junior high school principals, the trend is changing and teachers are changing. Many principals get quite confused about their roles. Are we the principal of the school or the chairman of committees? (...) Still, there are still some traditional demands made on principals. (...) The difficulty is brought by social transition. (...) People have not reached a consensus. (M3)

Both newly arrived and experienced principals mentioned confusion about their roles resulting from the democratic reforms. It seems principals have not benefited much from the process of democratisation and decentralisation. Decision-making is shared by the majority of teachers and parents now, while the local Bureau of Education still largely acts as their superior, so their dilemma and their role confusion are evident. However, the

future is uncertain, and it is possible that current difficulties are inevitable during a time of transition.

6.2 The journey to becoming a school manager

To understand the role of principals in Taiwan, it is necessary to understand how people become school managers. It seems that Taiwanese teachers are greatly affected by traditional Confucian values (see Chapter 2) and usually became school managers not so much because they choose to, but because others ask them, or plead with them, to do so. They may agree because they want to maintain a good relationships with others or to do them a favour. Once they are on the track, some middle managers keep pursuing principalship as they feel that it is only natural to continue. Some may do it because they have a genuine interest in the work, but since Chinese culture expects people to be satisfied with their position, even if they do want it, many of them would talk as if they are not interested. They find it difficult to admit ambition.

6.2.1 Becoming teachers

Adler et al. (1993) indicate that parents have significant influence over women's decision to become teachers in the UK in the early 1990s. This is particular the case for Taiwanese parents who had, and continue to have, a strong influence over their children's career – for both boys and girls. T2 did not mention his own preference, but described how he followed his father's wishes:

I graduated from the mathematics department of a normal university in 1990. (...) My parents were wondering whether I should be a doctor (attend a military medical institute) or a teacher. My father thought the life of a soldier is tough. It is more stable to be a teacher. (...) My father preferred me to be a teacher. (T2, M School 3)

It is understandable that T2's father would not want his son to work for the army, since the shadow of war was not far away for the older generation (WW II and the civil war that divided Taiwan and China in the late 1940s). The influence of wars meant security and stability were strong incentives for people to choose teaching as a career.

I did not have a strong opinion about things (careers). My parents were dominating and they thought being a teacher brought more security. (T1, F, School 3)

At that time, you felt very proud if you let your child become a teacher. You also expected to do this kind of job. It is a decent job in an agricultural society. (S1, M, School 6)

Both interviewees above spoke about the influence of their parents, showing how choosing one's career is not a decision made by a single individual. Parents usually play a very significant role in deciding children's careers, both because they carry a lot of authority and because they are the financial sponsors.

[Why did you become a teacher?] It was my father. He thought it is better for girls to work for the government. [Did you agree with the decision?] Hum... whatever. I did not like it very much. Whatever. I was not clear about what I would like to do. (S1, F, School 11)

Most teachers who gave in to their parents' wishes did not bear strong resentment, probably because it is a high social status job. Some people also enrolled in departments or universities that required high scores (i.e. normal universities) without much thought.

When I did my entrance examination, I followed certain orders. That is how I was admitted (to a normal university). (T3, M, School 3)

For children like us from the countryside, most people think it is quite good to be teachers. I think I was affected by those teachers who had taught me. Actually, the reason why I become a teacher... I think it is because of the national joint entrance examination. You value departments that required high scores more. My first choice was engineering. Then I filled in the (departments of) the normal university. Because of my score, I was admitted. (T1, M School 10)

The financial situation also affects people's choices of careers. This is especially so for women. Women in Taiwan tend to be asked to give up educational opportunity for the sake of their brothers (see Section 3.3.2). Admission to teachers' colleges and normal universities became their only option for further education.

You did not have to pay to go to the national normal universities. That's what we considered at that period: whether you could get a job or not when you graduated. That was the most important thing. At that time, people thought being a teacher was a lifelong career. It was a lifelong job unless you made some mistakes. It is stable. (...) That is my education background. Because my father was very traditional (he valued boys over girls), I had to struggle to make my own way. Therefore, we were very good at grasping any opportunity that was offered to us. (S2, F, School 9)

The following principal was typical of women who became teachers. Being born in a family with two sisters and one brother, her father made it clear that money was meant to spent on the boy's education, though her brother showed little interest in studying.

They value boys a lot more than girls. My brother could study as long as he wanted. But my elder sister only has primary school education. (...) Later, I participated in the teacher college entrance examination. He (my father) gave us two choices: 'I

cannot afford to have you (girls) educated. You can either study in teachers' colleges or vocational senior high schools. Because you are going to get married eventually, you need to have a career in case you marry the wrong men.' He regulated us this way. Therefore, I had no right to sit in the senior high school entrance examinations. When the moment came, I stood in Tong Da Road watching my friends taking the examination. Just try to feel what it was like... (...) In my third year of junior high school, I hardly dared to go to bed. I dared not sleep. My studying environment was poor. My first desk came when I got married. I used my dowry to buy it. That is why I became a teacher. There was no other way. (W6)

The above case shows how women are usually deprived of opportunity when there are limited resources. Thus, they would jump at the opportunities once they were offered the place. However, external barriers were not the only ones set by parents for women who intended to pursue their education. T3's account shows how some women's expectations were shaped by parental values.

After I went to XX senior high school, I felt if I did not work hard to be admitted into normal universities, I would end up in the factory. (...) I felt it was the only way. [So you went to a normal university because of financial situation?] Not exactly, both my elder brothers went to vocational schools. I am the only woman (in the family). People valued men more at that time. If boys did not make it (to the university), it was not appropriate for a girl to study in the university. (T3, F, School6)

For this reason, it only made sense to her to study a university where her education was free.

6.2.2 Becoming managers

International scholars (Shakeshaft, 1987; Davies & Gunawardena, 1992; Coffey & Delamont, 2000) tend to conclude that men are more motivated to move out of the classroom and gain promotion. This appears also to apply to Taiwanese teachers. Also, as I discussed in Section 2.3.2, Chinese people tend to show great respect for someone in a higher position. Once someone becomes an authority, people feel that they should obey him/her under any circumstances, which better fits men.

Unable to refuse the offer

The authoritarian personality described as a distinctive feature of Chinese society (see Section 2.3.2), appears to make it difficult for Taiwanese teachers to say no to authority, and of those who took up the offer of an administrative post, many considered that they did not feel comfortable about saying no, or they were in no position to reject the offer. Both men and women felt the same way. A few mentioned wanting to give it a try. Compared with teachers who are remotely interested in school management, middle managers however, tended to show more positive attitudes about their position and even about the pursuit of principalship.

The following principal is in her early 40s, which is unusually young for a principal. She is active in promoting various reforms in school which has led to much resistance from teachers. Nevertheless some traditional Chinese values are still deeply rooted in her beliefs.

People from my generation do not have much personal opinion. ...If we think the principal values us highly, we will be too polite to say no. (W4)

Ms. Cheng, a well-known senior high school principal in Taiwan today, talked about how she became a principal at the age of twenty-six in the 1960s – a man official from the Teacher Training Centre of Primary Education simply asked her to do so:

I was shocked. I thought he was out of his mind... How could he recommend someone like me to be a primary school principal? Of course, I would rather be 'beaten to death'⁴¹ than agree. Eventually, my superior got very angry and said that I was 'ungrateful'...He believed that I could do it well. The political atmosphere at that time was very corrupt and he wanted to bring in some fresh air in the field of education. He thought I should be brave enough to accept the challenge. I was convinced, but accepted the offer in tears. (Cheng, a Senior High School Principal, cited in Huang, 1994: 117-8)

The above scenario captures very clearly the authoritarian atmosphere of school management at that time. Cheng was not really in a position to refuse, and she accepted the offer in tears. W8 is a school principal who is well known for her passion for educational reforms. She is in charge of one of the biggest school in the city and says proudly:

My former principal, colleagues and officials all said that I could be a good principal. They forced me to do it. I did not do school management because I want to do it. Nor the principalship. It is all because people around me pushed me to be here today. (W8)

Compliance or even a sense of helplessness is also common with regard to promotion. T2 (School 6) was doing her teaching practice. She considered that the job was difficult and stressful. But when I asked for her personal attitude of being a manager, instead of

answering my question, she remarked that it was not up to her to decide whether she should be a manager or not. Therefore, it was apparently not worth talking about whether she would like it or not, since she did not see that she had any choice. Probably, as she was about to look for a post somewhere soon, she felt that that would be one of the factors that affected her chances. Nevertheless, it is also possible that she was using her apparent lack of choice as an excuse to disguise her ambition.

I think the job (being a manager) is difficult. (...) I feel the job will put people under lots of pressure. [Do you dislike it very much?] How should I put it? ... It's not as if you can say I do not want to do it and then you do not have to do it. [You are in a passive role in making the decision?] Yes. You have now to pass the new recruiting procedure in each school to get a job. But if a school needs managers, you will be asked if you are willing to be a manager or not. If you say no, then maybe you will not get the job. This is the reason why I think there are other factors for someone to become a manager. (T2, F, School 6)

Compared with women teachers' passivity regarding promotion, men teachers can be equally passive. T3 had been a junior manager twice, and left the positions twice. He felt that he was preferred as a man and considered that his age made it difficult for him to negotiate not to be promoted. The fact that the request came from an authority also made it difficult to refuse.

Usually, the middle manager would come to me and would recommend me (to the principal.) (...) On many occasions, it's because they could not find someone else. (laughing) Of course, men teachers are the priority. Especially after you completed your military service, you become the first priority. [What was in your mind at that time?] Actually I only had one year's teaching experience at that time. Probably because I was young, and it is difficult to reject a proposal from middle managers.

⁴¹ Taiwanese slang, it means extreme unwillingness.

(T3, M, School 3)

Men teachers, especially PE teachers (see Section 3.3.3), are usually seen as ideal managers because of their physical strength.

Many PE teachers become principals because they have worked in the Office of Discipline in schools. It can also relate to the personal traits of PE teachers. PE teachers are usually more optimistic and can take hard work. In terms of jobs, for example, it is difficult to find people to work as a junior manager in the discipline section. It (the position) needs people that look like powerful and masculine. Someone with power. (S1, M, School 6).

Middle managers are originally appointed by the principals. Most teachers who teach natural science did not want to be middle managers. They would rather do private tutorials at home. Who should be managers then? They are mainly teachers who teach non-academic subjects, especially PE teachers. This is because it is better to be a manager rather than a curriculum teacher (S3, M, School 1).

One middle manager (originally a PE teacher) claimed that he was told to become a manager. I sensed that he was furious and frustrated with the current situation in his school.

Actually, I am not interested in school management. Sometimes, I feel that I am very very uninterested. [How did you become a junior manager?] I am not very good at refusing people. [Why did you take the qualifying examination to be a head of department?] In the beginning, I did not want to. But the middle manager from the Department of Studies asked me to. (...) I was a junior manager under him at that time. I said to him I was not interested in school management. It's meaningless to take the examination. I am very unhappy about the whole (educational) environment. (S2, M, School 10)

It was probably difficult for outsiders to comprehend that he accepted the offer though he showed so much reluctance. The power of authority is showed here. However, we should not exclude the possibility that relationship-orientated attitudes could be another reason. Concern about relationships is certainly shown in the following case.

Before, people took the job reluctantly because they did not want to let the principal down. It's not an easy job. (...) But this principal does not know how to talk to people and treat people. [For example?] We are upset that good teachers wanted to leave the school and she did not do anything to make them stay. [Would it have worked if she had asked?] Usually people would change their minds. (T1, F, School1 – Chair of TA)

This teacher also complained that they could not find managers easily now because the principal was not pleasant to teachers and did not ask them to stay. She recognised and accepted that people might stay for the sake of the principal. Even though the teacher regretted other teachers' decisions to leave the school, which probably had something to do with the leadership styles of the principal, she seemed to be more upset that the principal did not ask staff to stay. This shows the importance of relationships based on respect in Chinese society.

Grant (1989: 43) indicates that 'gatekeepers', such as head teachers and advisors, have the power to support or impede teachers' bids for career advancement. This role seems particularly important in Taiwanese schools as people are not encouraged to initiate a move themselves. Even if people do become principals, or plan to, they tend to attribute the decisions to others rather than themselves. Women were formerly disadvantaged by this custom as men were favoured traditionally, and both men and women needed their

superiors' encouragement and 'approval' before they made a move.

On the Track

Many people also perceive that once they become junior managers, they are not able to return. They have embarked on another path. Some men actually described being managers as like setting sail on the river of no return. Returning to be a 'teacher' again was certainly very rare in the past. For men especially, being a manager is traditionally considered a career promotion and being a teacher again is like a failure or a setback.

Once you started to be a manager in school, especially young men like us, you could not drop it half way unless you got into a fight with the school. Otherwise, you just carry on, carry on and eventually you are put in for the qualifying examination for middle managers. (S2, M, School 6)

Before, it was like a river of no return, like a systematic thing (from junior to middle manager and becoming a principal). (S1, M, School 3)

The first middle manager, S2, even implied that only a fight with the school (with managers, in particular the principal) would end the journey through the hierarchy. The second manager held a different view and considered that things are different now. However, the worse working conditions for managers and principals and the changing policies for principal recruitment as discussed in Section 2.2.3 probably also have something to do with his change of attitude.

Women seem to take a more relaxed view of pursuing principalship. They seem generally to express that their career is not under their control.

I advise all my middle managers to take the examination (for principals). (...) I told them, if you are destined to pass (the examination), you will pass. Everything works according to 'yuen' (see Section 2.3.2). If you are meant to experience hardship in your life, you will. In fact, mostly many opportunities are the result of 'yuen'. You cannot plan it. (W3)

Ambition in disguise

Horner (1971) talks about women managers' 'fear of success' in the late 1960s in the USA. However, both men and women seem to show a similar tendency in Taiwan. This kind of fear has less to do with a perceived loss of femininity, than with social rejection and alienation. Carlson (1972) has confirmed that a similar kind of fear can also appear in men. This is an instance of where the Western literature does not fit the Taiwanese context. Both men and women in Taiwan can be afraid to be seen as ambitious.

School staff in Taiwan may be passive, or so concerned about their relationship with their superiors that they have difficulty in turning down any offer. However, even if they are interested or ambitious, they are not really encouraged to show that interest or ambition. This is particularly the case for women who still believe that they should not outperform men (see Section 3.3.2). Accordingly, I found people sometimes talking in a way that disguised their real attitudes.

About administration, people actually asked me to do it earlier, but I always felt that I talk too frankly. My blood type is O⁴². So, I always rejected offers whenever people asked me to do it. The reason why I decided to take up the offer this time is because my youngest child has gone to university. I am freer these days. (...) My children were both 'cultivated'⁴³ here. I feel that I should have some feedback. To

⁴² It is believed that blood type affects your personality and that people with O blood type tend to be more open and direct.

⁴³ The Chinese term is the same as for the way plants are grown, which shows the passive nature of

be honest, if you want to do it, you should do your best. It will take lots of energy and time. Others have family and children too. (...) On the other hand, I am also interested in learning new things. That's how I ended up taking this job. (...) But outsiders saw it in a very nasty way. It seems I took it because...I took it with a simple mind, but those ordinary secular people do not believe that I did it for such a reason. Some people said that I want to get promoted. [Promotion is not a bad thing, right?] I do not know. I guess (...) I cannot bear that people have doubts about my character. This is what upsets me most. (...) I think my personality is more suitable for being a teacher. (laughing) I am too frank. Sometimes, you need to be more reserved. Being reserved is not a bad thing. It's like politics. If you show your motives first, you are finished. I mean you need to have this kind of duplicity. But I seem to be more... (J1, F, School 8)

The conversation with this woman junior manager seemed to explain her dilemma and her complicated thinking, but she still did not show her real attitude to her position. Her apparent reluctance to be promoted is something to do with her embarrassment about being seen publicly as ambitious. She gave such reasons as that she had more time; she was doing other teachers a favour; and was interested in learning new things. However, she did not say how she really felt about her work. She did not seem to want to be seen as ambitious, so she used many reasons to justify why she took up the offer. On the other hand, she kept saying that she was not suitable for the work because of her character (not because she was not capable). She was not really blaming her own character, but probably the nature of the work, which she saw as contradictory to it. This kind of expression is commonly used in Chinese society. Perhaps it is not important or possible to know whether she 'actually' is ambitious or not, because even if she is, she herself may not recognise it. Or perhaps what is important is the fact that it would be impossible for her to articulate ambition, because she feels that decisions about the future of her career are

receiving education.

made by others.

In Dunlap's (1994) study of 14 senior women administrators in Canadian and US research universities, she found that these administrators appeared uncomfortable when asked about future administrative aspirations. She believes women are affected by the pervasive social norm that women do not seek overt power. Dunlap continued to be amazed at the ability of obviously capable, dedicated administrators to say one thing and do another: to continue to downplay their accomplishments by their choice of descriptive language. She thus concludes:

I do not think that they are unaware of their capability or of their achievement. I think they are walking the fine line of manners of what is acceptable to themselves or to others as women and as academic people. (p. 184)

However, men in Taiwan are also required to speak in a socially accepted way to express their interest in school management. A middle manager who had just passed the difficult principalship examination explained the reason as being that he wanted to test his own potential and capability.

It's a kind of trial for myself. (...) I did not do it with intensive attention. (...) I think it's because of encouragement from the principal. The previous principal encouraged me a lot. He kept encouraging me to study more and to serve more people (S1, M, School 8)

Though the examination was difficult and needed a great deal of preparation and effort, he claimed that he had not worked very hard, so as to show that he was not very ambitious and also to attribute his success to others. He avoided showing much enthusiasm or

saying that he was interested in the job. This kind of reaction was common under such circumstances.

In general, I found that the conversations usually started from when the interviewees were asked to accept the post. People hardly ever mentioned that they were chosen because of their capability, which I suspect could be the main reason why in fact these people were preferred. On the other hand, if they are not very ambition-driven or lack of a clear career plan in mind, the following situation might as well happened: W4, an obvious capable woman who took the examination under her own wishes, described her reaction when she passed the examination and finished the training programme as the best trainee.

I got the highest scores (the result of the examination plus the performance during the training session) so I would be the first to be distributed. I started crying because I did not want to be a principal. But I did have a very enjoyable time during the training session. (W4)

6.2.3 Managers who want to move on and those who are unsure

People tended to reply in a very ambiguous way when I asked about their plans for the future. I therefore put those 'who want to move on' and those who are 'not sure' in the same category as I believe that the phrases mean the same thing to many people. When middle managers were asked if they wanted to apply for the principalship examination, the most frequent answer received from men was 'no longer,' while the majority of women middle managers said that it was 'possible.' Compliance was visible, though they were willing to try. Some left their future to *yuen* (fate). A few did however say they would like to try to be a manager.

Doing what they want rather than receiving orders

Some middle managers said clearly that they wanted to exercise their influence more, rather than to carry on receiving orders, but most also considered that in the current situation it was not a good idea for them to apply for promotion as too many changes are occurring now. Both men and women spoke in a fairly direct way about their interests in school management, but of the few who openly expressed their interests in school management almost all were women.

Examples of those who were fairly open include two middle managers who talked indirectly about what they wanted by referring to the general situation:

Recently, I wanted to take the examination. If you have been a middle manager for a long time, you have some educational ideas of your own. Your ideas are restricted and you can not do whatever you like. You have to give up. [So, are you considering taking the principalship examination?] Sometimes, I struggle about whether to take the examination or not. A few years ago, I wanted to quit (as an manager), but the situation did not allow me to quit. Now it's even more impossible. I want to move on now, because my kids have grown up.(S3, F, School 10)

People do not necessarily have the same beliefs. If you have the opportunity... (...) Different middle managers have a different degree of influence in school, not to mention that there is a principal above you. (S1, M, School 11)

As if to defend her ambition, the first middle manager mentioned that her family was her priority, but while her family had held her back in the early stages of her career, she was finally able to pursue what she wanted, after the children were grown up. S1 also mentioned about trying to have a greater 'influence' in school though he did not mention

his ambition for principalship directly.

Compared with others, the following woman middle manager was open about her interest. She talked very freely and frankly about why the job attracted her. Her repetition of certain words showed her excitement at the expectation of influencing others.

I found the secret of being an manager after I became one. The mystery is in its influence. (...) I like to influence others. Actually, it is not easy to influence others. You need to have the capability, morality, and professional knowledge (to influence others). This is the goal that I pursue. I know you can influence students through teaching, but I am not intimidated by adults either. (...) Actually, the nature of human beings is all the same. You can experience a lot of personal educational influence as a manager. The system, organisation, culture and the future development of the school are all under the control of these managers. But I was only a junior manager, no one listened to me. (...) What you said was not that important and you did not have deep understanding of things. Later, I confirmed that this is true. It is true. As a junior manager, your understanding and consideration of issues are different. (...) [Have you ever considered taking the principalship examination?] Currently, I think I am not qualified to participate in it. (But you will?) Yes. (S1, F, School 1)

S1 may represent the new generation of women managers who show braver and clearer attitudes. She also considered that being in a high position would allow her to have a deeper understanding as she would need to see things from a broader perspective. At the end, however, when the question about principalship was raised, she did not say directly that she intended to try until I confirmed this with her.

Those who are not sure if they want to be managers

Because of their passive attitudes to promotion, many would speak of it only in an

ambiguous way. The answer below was typical of what I was given by people I interviewed.

I haven't thought about it so far. But it's difficult to say something definite in one's life. Sometimes,... For example, I never thought about being a middle manager. I haven't thought about it (principalship), and it's difficult to predict the future. (S2, F, School 2)

It depends on people's fate. I tend to do things in accordance with the situation. Of course, I may try. But I will not push for it. After all, you need a certain amount of preparation. It might be one of the important plans in my life. (S3, M, School 2)

These two managers both attributed their careers to fate and showed an attitude of almost 'whatever will be will be'. There was probably a belief that they should not force things to happen. Since school managers usually do not pursue their career actively unless they receive encouragement, it is not surprising that they attributed their future to fate. There is no doubt that the concept of *yuen* affects people's career moves greatly.

I have only four years left (before retirement). It's difficult to be a principal these days unless you have a team to support you. I feel that I do not have a strong network in this respect. Therefore, I do not behave very actively about it. I did not become a manager until fairly late. This is my eighth year. I do not have a strong network. I think since it's difficult to be a principal, it does not matter whether I do it or not. (S2, F, School 3)

Since this interviewee did not become a manager until very recently, she believes her lack of a network would be a problem if she actually became a principal. A good network is something people gain gradually after they become school managers. As most principals prefer working with people they know well, the lack of a network means they may not be

able to find the right people to work with them.

There was an examination last Saturday. I took it. You need to have at least three years of middle management experience to be able to take the examination. It is my fourth year now. (...) Basically, I am not very ambitious. I think it is more important to do your own work well. That is why I could be a junior manager for more than ten years. As a middle manager, I also think it is more important to do your own work well. This probably results from the perception of my gender. I feel that it is too hard for a woman to be a principal. (S2, F, School 3)

Since 'acting according to one's position' is a feature of Chinese values, individuals have good reasons to settle in their position and can be comfortable even if they do not get what they expect.

6.2.4 Those who do not want to be managers and who are thinking of giving up

The people who decided to stay in teaching usually explained that this was because management would require different ways of interacting with people with worse working conditions, they preferred teaching, the examination deterred them and/or they saw their family as the priority. Compared with middle managers, teachers rarely said that they were interested in school management. Only one man teacher in School 4 mentioned briefly that he 'did not exclude the idea' of being a manager. Another young woman teacher in School 11 said that she was willing to try because education had been her major at university, but she was also a little scared about the prospect.

For some people, the high value of harmony in Chinese society is probably the main

reason that they are not interested in school management. Moreover, teaching itself is a very well respected job in society. The difficulty of the principalship examination deters many middle managers. Of course, there were other reasons that they did not and could not mention. For example, teachers of certain subjects may prefer giving private tutorials for financial reasons, which makes it impossible for them to be managers as the law prohibits full-time teachers offering any form of private tuition. Giving private tutorials may conflict with the supposed role of managers which is to guard the interest of the school, and the heavy workload of a school manager also makes the job itself unattractive to teachers.

A challenging task: working with people

Women managers in the West are found to value co-operation and negotiation, and to dislike competition (Ozga, 1993; Ouston, 1993). They appear to be more concerned for people than for tasks. In school organizational culture in Taiwan, both men and women show a great concern for relations with people while leading a school, and many do not want to be managers because of it affects their relationship with others.

As Chinese culture values harmony highly, most people do not want to do anything that will lead to a greater likelihood of confrontation. Being a manager, which requires confrontation, means they have to work hard but will please no one. One middle manager said that he only wanted to be happy. He was probably not happy being an manager, and he realised that the higher up one rises, the worse it may get.

I planned it before (to be a principal). The principals in earlier days were more authoritative. [Not any more?] I want to be happy. I want myself to be happy. (...) I think principals have no friends because of the kind of role they play. There is only

one exception I've met so far. (S1, M, School 3)

No. I would never take it (being an manager) into consideration. In terms of teaching, you have more autonomy as a teacher. If you are an manager, you have to consider many things, including negotiation. Sometimes, you live at the mercy of others. That's why I am not interested. (T2, M – Chair of Teacher Association, School 10)

What the Western literature says about women seems to fit both men and women in Taiwan. Not only middle managers, but also teachers could feel that managers are living 'at the mercy of others'. The possibility of facing a great deal of hostility discouraged many people.

Too much work and worse working conditions

In England, the Labour government's reforms to enhance the academic achievement of students have resulted in an increased workload for managers which has in turn led to a shortage of teachers and head teachers since the late 1990s. In their research of 239 middle managers in the England, Gold and Evans (2002) find that over half (52%) stated that they did not envisage becoming a deputy headteacher and 79 % did not envisage becoming a headteacher. So, too, are more and more school managers in Taiwan also thinking of giving up the post. Managers have to handle a great deal more pressure than teachers. Therefore, some middle managers choose not to pursue principalship.

Men managers seem more likely to talk about the worse working condition than women as men tend to compare how things were in the earlier days.

People keep asking me to do it, but I have no intention of applying up to now.

[Why?] I think I am for educational reform, not educational revolution. You do it slowly if it's a reform. You also need the whole set of plans to match up with it. (...) We do not have enough rest and can not work normal hours as others do. (...) But people do not say to you: 'you work so hard', after you devote yourself so much to the job. Instead, you get lots of criticism if you make a few mistakes. I feel we (managers and teachers) do not treat each other very equally. Before, managers were in a higher position. Teachers were more like... employees controlled by employers. They felt managers were in a higher position, though it was not true. Now their status has jumped up suddenly. Once their status rises, teachers are full of resentment. Managers then attract criticism for their every move. This results in a difficulty in finding managers. (S2, M, School 5)

After Martial Law was abolished, many (political) parties were formed. It affects the campus as well. If you do not pay attention to all these (changes), the more you get involved, the more you get scared. The life of a teacher is simple, you do not have that much pressure. (S2, M, School 4)

Both these men middle managers' accounts show the frustration they experience. S2 talks about the dramatic change in relations between teachers and managers. A delicate balance has been breached, so managers encounter many challenges. The dramatic change in the political climate and its impact on campus also contributes.

Those who prefer teaching

Al-Khalifa (1989:90) indicates that women's resistance to identifying themselves as managers is not a simple consequence of a lack of training, nor of a lack of confidence, but 'a positive statement about self-worth and espoused values'. Moreover, the recent study of Gold and Evans (2002) show significantly more than a third of respondents - both men and women middle managers - preferred remaining in the classroom rather than seeking further promotion.

Many Taiwanese teachers also indicated that they preferred to be teachers. This is hardly a surprise, since teaching is considered a good job in general, and a teacher's life is less complicated than that of a manager. Teachers have three months' vacation each year while managers have to come to school even during vacation and are paid only a slightly higher salary. Teachers are also able to gain respect from students and parents, while it is somewhat harder for managers to secure respect from teachers these days. Moreover, teachers enjoy a high degree of autonomy compared with managers.

Grant (1989) suggests that many women define career commitment as evidenced by trying to be a good classroom teacher rather than seeking upward mobility through the system. My interviews with school teachers also detect that women teachers seem to enjoy teaching to a greater extent, so they would rather remain in the classroom. Men seem to stay in teaching more as a result of their pessimistic attitudes over the prospect of being school managers.

No, it's because I care about my leisure life a lot. I think managers are mainly facing tasks. You (managers) have to negotiate. I only deal with students, nothing else. I prefer to spare my energy to spend more time preparing my teaching: teaching materials, teaching methods and interaction with students, instead of interacting with the adults' world. I feel the students' world is simpler; other management tasks are more complicated. (T1, F, School 9)

The examination requirements and the bachelor's degree major

Once they were on the middle management track, neither men or women entirely excluded the idea of being a principal, unless they had tried the examination several times and failed, or they had reached a certain age. However, the qualifying examination

in general does discourage people as it needs a great deal of preparation. It is especially difficult, while the middle managers' qualifying examination is easy to pass if candidates have had enough management experience (see Diagram 6-1 & 6-2 for an example of the examination paper).

There are many reference books on sale giving people advice about how to prepare for the qualifying examination for principals. Most list the questions which have appeared in the recent national civil servant examination for educational managers and the entrance examination for graduate schools in education. These publications show how deeply rooted the examination culture is in Taiwan. The books usually demonstrate a fairly standard way of answering questions. They start by referring to related theories and then their possible application in the context of Taiwan. If the applicants cannot demonstrate a fairly good understanding of the theories, it is difficult for them to gain good marks. Moreover, there is an expectation that if people have majored in education, they are more qualified than others to be school managers.

My husband supports me in doing it (the principalship examination). (...) I am afraid of the examination. (The only obstacle is the examination?) The rest is not a problem. All my friends support me in taking the examination. (S1, F, School 4)

I tried three times and I failed three times. I want no part of it any more because I am almost there (the end of his career). (...) It's not easy to pass the examination for principalship. There are usually 120 to 130 people who apply, and they only take 8 people. You must be quite capable to do it. We have had enough hard work in life. In addition, I graduated from the PE department in the Faculty of Education. Though I took my 40-module course in education (semi-Master's course) later, I still consider myself not 'pure' enough to do that⁴⁴. (...) You also need a good

⁴⁴ Traditionally, teachers who have majored in education are considered as most suitable to be school

connection with the (ruling) party, government and army (jokingly). (S1, M, School 2)

The above two accounts show one of the main factors, which deter people to pursue principalship, is the difficulty of the qualifying examination and the possibility of failing.

Family responsibility holding them back

Traditionally, Taiwanese women's identities are related to being mothers, wives and daughters. The concept that a woman's role in life was to 'assist her husband and teach her son'⁴⁵ may seem outdated, but in fact, it still affects people's thinking and women's decision-making about their careers. The following teacher did not want to work as a manager. She tried to explain that her unwillingness was good, because more people would have the chance to try, and they would be more considerate to school managers once they had management experience. In fact, she was trying to avoid personal reasons by finding a 'better,' but not necessarily accurate, impersonal one.

When I came here in 1987, I had been a junior manager for 4 years in the Office of Studies. (...) It's tiring. I needed to take care of my children as well. [In the future?] I suppose I am not very willing to. I think you should give more people the opportunity to participate in it. It will be better for managers to advocate their work (if more people have experienced the hardship to be managers). (T2, F, School 10)

Al-Khalifa (1989) suggests that for many women with dependants, the balancing of different roles and responsibility is a considerable achievement, but is also a source of

principals, rather than teachers who have majored in other subjects. Since S1's major was in PE, he believes that he is not 'pure' enough to be a principal. This is a typical instance of how much people believe in educational background and qualification in Taiwan.

⁴⁵ A Chinese proverb, it means a woman should live her life around her family, and nothing else.

stress. Even for women who are interested in being school managers, they are nevertheless influenced by traditional values. W8, a senior woman principal, admitted that she did not have any ambition at the beginning of her career. However, she was persuaded into management (by a woman principal), after a change (divorce) in her private life.

[How did you come to this city?] My ex-husband changed his job. I never thought of being a principal. I have always tried to avoid school management. I am actually a housewife type of woman. But no one would believe me now. (W8)

Though she has achieved a great deal in her career, she considered her achievement of being a principal was the result of her not being given the chance to be a good wife. W6 is a similar case of a capable woman with traditional values. She and her husband were both school teachers. Though ambitious, she believed that she should not outperform her husband, thus did not pursue her career until the husband pursued his.

[Which one of you became the school manager first?] My husband did, because I waited until he did. (...) Actually, I had some ambition. I wanted to be a professor's wife and I also wanted to study a Master course. But I would not have any chance unless my husband did. [Is it your idea?] It is my idea. I believe women should never outsmart men for the sake of the ecological balance in the family. We are still very traditional. (W6)

W6's husband was aware of this expectation from his wife, thus he tried hard to be a school manager himself first.

He (my husband) felt that my dreams could not come true because of him. Therefore, he took the qualifying examinations of middle managers and principals. (...) After he passed, he told me that he was under a great of deal of pressure and he would not

know how to face me if he had failed. (...) He passed when I had given up all the hopes and had told myself just to be a teacher and his wife (...) The next evening, I was very unstable and resentful. (...) I cried at night and said: 'you have achieved so much. How about me? I have nothing.' I threw out all my emotion. [Why did you think this way?] I think I was always ambitious subconsciously, but I tried to suppress it. (W6)

W6's case shows that traditional values and expectations can oppress men as well as women. Though it is not known whether her husband had the same career ambition to move up or not, he was 'required' to pursue school management so that W6 could also pursue her own career without disrupting the 'ecological balance' of the family.

Moreover, family responsibility is certainly a great burden for women managers in Taiwanese schools. The following woman principal in her mid-40s believed that family life should not be 'sacrificed' because of her career.

I married into a big family so I had to cook, took the food to my mother-in-law, washed clothes and took care of my own two children. Even as a principal, I feel that my family life cannot be sacrificed in any way. Until today, I still prepare the lunch for my two children. But I cannot make it once or twice a week [...] I usually worked from 7: 00 am to 6: 30 pm. My mother-in-law died 2 years ago and the amount of the work has reduced a great deal consequently. (W5)

The following comment made by a man manager somehow shows something of a common agreement by both middle-aged men and women that women are held to be responsible for domestic work. Consequently, women are not seen as suitable to be managers because it will affect their performance of domestic work.

There are many women principals in this city. These super women did not do anything wrong and they all manage their schools very well. But their family... You

gain something and you lose something. The (divorced) percentage is really high, really. (...) I still have that kind of idea - women should not expose themselves and should put the family as the priority. (...) School managers have many responsibilities. You work day and night. Most women still have little children at home and they need to go home to prepare dinner for the husband and their children. (S1, M, School 2)

Jones (1990), Ozga (1993) and Adler et al. (1993) all point out that women's domestic life has a strong influence on their careers in the West. The Confucian tradition which expects women to take the main responsibility for the home (see Section 3.1.2) further strengthens this restriction in women teachers' career in Taiwan.

The new principal appointment system

The new system of principal recruitment explained in Section 2.2.3 also discourages people who intend to pursue principalship as a lifelong career. The new system will ask principals to look for posts themselves, rather than applying through a distribution system based mainly on seniority.

If I apply to XXX (a bigger school), and am rejected, I would be too embarrassed to go back to this school. The new selection system is a test for principals. It is like running for City Council representatives. (...) I do not mean that I am better or worse than others. (...) I told my middle managers that I should be the first teacher that retired from the position of the principal. I will also have time to be able to fly to Canada to visit my daughter in the summer (if he becomes a teacher again.) (M1)

Serving principals who seek reappointment are required to go through the selection process and be approved by their teachers' associations and parents' associations, so they may be forced to be 'demoted' to ordinary teaching or may have to apply to another

school (Law, 2002).

6.3 The changing role of principals in relation to ‘democratisation’

Abolghasemi et. al. (1999) define vision as an image of a desirable future and an essential component of school culture. As I have explained before, a supposed ‘democratic’ vision of schooling is required of principals by the government in Taiwan at this moment (Section 2.1). It seems, however, that schools in Taiwan may not be ready for the changes as a result of their lack of the understanding about the complexity of democracy (see Section 6.1.2).

According to Carr and Hartnett (1996:191-2), the democratic vision of education can be understood from three perspectives. First, any such vision will be committed to fostering a wide public debate, where educational policies and proposals can be tested through critical dialogue. Second, it should regard it as self-evident that education is a public good rather than a private utility. It should be acknowledged that, in a democracy, education has to be constantly ‘re-formed’ as part of a broader process of social change aimed at empowering more and more people to participate in the life of their society. Third, educational policies, in general, should be addressed and resolved in a way which takes account of the diverse values, needs and interests of the different social groups and communities that constitute a society.

The answers analysed seem to be convergent with the general direction of Taiwanese

educational reform. However, in a very centralised system, it can sometimes be hard to notice the existence of any specific vision as many policies are centrally determined by the Ministry of Education. Many principals who have graduated from national normal universities, are selected by the local government's Bureau of Education. They still consider officials in the Bureau of Education as their 'superiors,' and there is much consensus between them. Being a principal is actually being a bureaucrat, and they receive funding mostly from the government. There are very few private schools⁴⁶ as they are considered inappropriate for a 9-year system of compulsory education⁴⁷, and there is little difference in the private schools' curriculum, apart from some Catholic schools which add some religious elements to their daily activities.

In the following part, I shall try to explore how the vision of Taiwanese principals is formed through the selection and training systems.

6.3.1 How vision is formed

As noted, the influence of school principals in Taiwan was reduced and school staff were given more power to participate in school decision making, but the educational authorities in Taiwan remain the sole body in charge of selection. Many principals talked about how different things were now and about the importance of democratisation. What they said shows a fairly good understanding of the current trend and what people and government nowadays expect from the school: they talked less about academic standards

⁴⁶ According to Education Statistics of the Republic of China 2000, 23 out of 2,583 primary schools and 9 out of 719 junior high schools are private in Taiwan in 2000-1

⁴⁷ Yang concludes (1998:133) that many Taiwanese people believe that private schools only want to make money and most of the Taiwanese elite has strong confidence in state schools.

and more about students' lives and a diverse curriculum. It can be assumed that the selection and training of principals and frequent contact with the Bureau of Education make it easier to reach such a consensus.

The principal's examination in Taiwan

After examining the content of the qualifying examination for principals, we can have little doubt why these principals share similar vision and values. The content (see Diagram 6-1 & 6-2), shows that the candidates must have an up-to-date uncritical and consensus understanding of the government's policies, i.e. the new Curriculum Standards, the Teachers' Law, and the current trends of the educational reform in Taiwan, i.e. open education, school-based management and multicultural education.

Diagram 6-1 The Written Qualifying Test for Junior High School Principals in Taiwan Province, 1996

- 1, Please describe the features of the newly revised Curriculum Standard in junior high schools and explain how the principal could work with it in school.
- 2, According to the regulations of the Teachers' Law, what are the rights and obligations of teachers? Please list them and comment on them.
- 3, If you were a principal in a junior high school, how would you make school-based on-the-job training practicable?
- 4, What are the criteria for assessing textbooks? Choose one subject and explain how to choose appropriate textbooks. Furthermore, explain the ideal, model and criteria for choosing the textbooks for that particular subject.
- 5, What is open education? Please explain its connotation and theory.

Source: Stepping Stone Ltd (1999), p. 5.21.

Diagram 6-2 The Written Qualifying Test for Primary School Principals in Taiwan Province, 1999

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Stepping Stone Ltd (1999), p. 5-35.

After they pass the written examination, the few that are selected also have to pass an oral examination. The questions in the oral examinations for principals in primary schools and middle managers in Taiwan Province in the 87th- 89th Sessions (see Appendix 10), were very similar nature to the questions in the written examinations. Among the 59 questions listed there, 17 are related to educational theories and terms; 6 to candidates' management experience; 14 to current educational policies and possible reforms; 9 to students; 4 to teachers; 5 are about public relations and relations with the community; and the remaining 4 are about other issues.

In Taiwan, the content of the questions shows that current educational policies, possible future reforms and related theories are still the main focus. In terms of theory, they cover psychology, curriculum, counselling, management and the related educational regulations and laws in Taiwan. None of them deal with raising academic attainment. Instead, attention is given to Taiwan's native culture, student counselling, new ways of interaction between teachers and managers and schools' public relations with the community.

Wang (1994, 137-153) has analysed the trend in the principal qualifying examination in Taiwan and concludes that it continues to:

- (1) emphasise both theory and practice;
- (2) emphasise both basic theories and new information;
- (3) include current educational debates and problems;
- (4) include theories in administration and management;
- (5) emphasise planning and decision-making rather than implementation;
- (6) emphasise overall views and integration;
- (7) focus on the understanding, criticism and improvement of current educational policy, and regulations;
- (8) to focus also on the principal's role, ability and general capability;
- (9) and require an understanding of teachers' thinking, responsibility and their profession.

We may conclude that most principals are likely to share more or less the same vision if they are to pass the examination, but the questions also show how difficult it is to pass. Applicants would be unlikely to pass if they did not have a through understanding of newly promulgated regulations, up-to-date educational theories and the direction of educational reform in Taiwan.


Training for principals

If the examinations themselves were not enough to convey the 'official vision', the training programmes ensure that these managers get the message. The programmes all carry information about the major educational policies, trends and reforms. In particular, there is an emphasis on schools' public relations and on how to interact with the media. School managers are also made aware of their relationship with the city councils⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ The city council is responsible for questioning educational affairs in the city and giving approval to the educational budgets raised by the bureau of education in the local government. However, if the council representatives demand further explanation of certain issues, the principals will be required to attend to

Diagram 6-3 The Content of the Principals' Training Programme in Taipei, 1997

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Source: Taipei Teacher Training Centre (1997)

account for their plans or policies. Therefore, it is seen as very important to build up a good relationship with the council.

⁴⁹ The goal of nativist education is to teach students about the natural history, geography, environment, dialects, arts, and culture of Taiwan, and thus cultivate an affection for Taiwan and respect for the island's different cultures and ethnic groups (Ministry of Education, 2001a).

Diagram 6-4 The Content of the Middle Managers' Training Programme in Taipei, 1996

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Source: Taipei Teacher Training Centre (1996)

In the UK, the development of the National Professional Qualification for Headteachers (NPQH) launched in 1997 by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) is seen as a part of a strong centrist approach to control both the content and the provision of training (Ouston, 1998). The NPQH is the benchmark qualification for aspiring headteachers and in due course will be made mandatory for those taking up headships.

In a similar way to the principal training in Taiwan, people register for the NPQH programme before they become headteachers. Gunter (2001b) believes that:

Perhaps the most important feature of the new model is the integration of assessment, training, and development, combined with an attempt to support a bespoke approach to the particular candidate's professional context (Gunter, 2001b: 161).

But unlike the British training, Taiwan shows a lack of consideration for the particular candidate's individual professional context. Instead, a great deal of attention is given to the power relationship with the outside environment (the local government, city council and media), as well as within the campus (the relationship with parents, Teacher Association etc.) This seems to be what Gunter (2001b: 162) sees as missing in NPQH programme: 'the knowledge, understanding and skills within the National Standards are focused on neutral processes, and issues related to power are absent' (p. 162). However, it also shows that it is crucial for principals in Taiwan to strike a power balance with various groups both inside and outside the campus for it to be possible for them to do their work.

Both systems also seem to put a lot of emphasis on the vision of school leaders. According to the National Standards for Headteachers, 'the headteacher provides vision, leadership and direction for the school and ensures that it is managed and organized to meet its ends and targets'. (NCSL, 2001)

The NPQH model shows that transformational leadership is still a focus in the UK.

The way in which leadership is talked about is what the literatures identifies as 'transformational leadership' in which the leader has a vision and a mission, builds support through teams, and installs monitoring and evaluation systems. (Gunter, 2001b: 162)

In Taiwan, the government is trying to convey a common set of educational visions to school principals in the democratic era in order to push reform forward. W3's account

confirms the consensus in principals' vision.

Even if I have some ideas in education, it's a very broad goal. Now, the curriculum is going to change dramatically in 2001. This is the main principle. A few years ago, if you wanted to promote a diverse curriculum, it was impossible. (...) If you can pass the principleship examination, your educational ideas can not be too different. Otherwise, you would fail. (W3)

The principal of my generation... the ex-Director of the Bureau of Education talked a lot about 'deregulated education', giving power to others and serving people actively. We take these quite well. We can even accept going back to be a teacher again. (...) I am very concerned about democracy. (W1)

Thus, after school principals have gone through the examination and the training, they are fully informed of the new challenges waiting for them.

6.3.2 The main kinds of vision shown

With the central belief in 'democracy', the Taiwanese principals' vision can now be roughly categorised as follows: it is student-centred; concerned with developing a more diverse and flexible curriculum; involving teachers and parents in decision-making; and focused on the individual school's needs. Women principals seem nevertheless to be able to articulate a clearer vision than men principals.

Student-centredness

Adkison (1981) suggests women principals are more likely to concern themselves with students. My research showed that in Taiwan, those who stressed the importance of student-centredness were usually women principals. They expressed much care and

concern for students and they were also generally on better terms with students than with teachers.

You have students first, then you have teachers. You have teachers so you need managers. It's important to have the concept of providing service. (W2, School 2)

W4 took a very pro-student attitude. But for this reason, she also had problems with teachers and even some managers in the school. She thought that she did not have a 'mission' but that the school belongs to everyone.

I expect teachers and students to behave themselves firstly. I expect teachers to do their teaching well in the classroom. I hope we can have a common consensus to put our own interests in the second place. They should give students the idea that they (students) have a right to make mistakes and have the obligation to correct their mistakes. When students honestly admit their mistakes, they should not be punished. (W4)

Instead of seeing principalship as a source of power, W1 sees herself as an agent to provide services to 'guests' (students).

Now the educational ideas are changing. I always tell teachers that the old styles is not suitable anymore. Like what China Airlines says: 'Always respect your guests (students).' The purpose of management is to support teaching. [...] We managers support teachers. But teachers should not forget the real masters are students. In addition to the good welfare given by our country, do not forget we are paid by the country. Our responsibility is to teach children properly. (W1)

Curriculum development: from uniformity to diversity

Before the educational reform, teachers' participation in curriculum development was limited due to the centralised educational policies. However, the rapid progress of democratisation has gradually given local educational authorities, schools and teachers more opportunities to participate in curriculum development and to conduct their own educational experiments. Thus, many schools have begun to experiment with open education, field education and bilingual education (Hsieh, et al.,1999: 51).

Many principals were more concerned with other issues more than academic attainment. Apart from the government's new policies, this probably also has to do with the condition of the schools which were usually not able to achieve a satisfactory academic performance. The principals sought new strategies through reshaping their curriculum and teaching, and many concentrated on developing a diverse curriculum so that their students would have more opportunity to go to better senior high schools⁵⁰. As M2's school was not considered very academically successful, he was hoping it could be upgraded into a specialist art senior high school. By focusing on specific subjects, the school can thus avoid keen competition with other neighbourhood junior high schools.

When some principals talk about professionalism, they mean academic attainment. But you do not talk about that kind of professionalism here. (...) I want to manage a school that has its own features. (M2)

The following man principal is also aware that academic achievement is less of an issue now that the government is trying to ease the keen competition by introducing more

⁵⁰ Previously, most students could only go to senior high school through the standardized written examination. The emphasis on extra-curricular activities results from the changes to the conditions of admission to senior high schools. Students who specialize in certain sports, arts etc. are also preferred.

approaches for student admission at higher levels.

As to the features of our school, I hope for happy and normal teaching and learning. Therefore, I encourage setting up student clubs⁵¹ in school and I always tell teachers not to hold examinations all the time. The examinations do not make much sense. (M3)

W2 and W7 were also trying to move away from the over-emphasis on students' academic achievement. For W2, parents in her school usually had no time to pay attention to students' academic performance, therefore, they expected their children only to be well behaved.

My priority is students' education for life⁵². Most parents here do not think it's very important to go to a good senior high school. They think children's behaviour and moral character are more important. Therefore, I think I should emphasize this and I have to let the parents see it (the results). (W2)

On the other hand, W7 was pushing her vision forward for she always seemed to be very advanced in promoting reforms.

Be tidy, be polite and be responsible. (...) By doing this, I hope eventually everyone will open their hearts. No more standard answers, united regulations and repeated practices. Teachers are usually nervous about teaching because they are nervous about comparisons and competition with other teachers. Now, I have cancelled league tables within the school and do not ask about the average scores in each class anymore. I promote inter-disciplinary coordination and integration in science subjects. If students perform well, I usually remind them it is because they have good parents and their parents have high IQs. They do not simply get there by

⁵¹ For instance, more students can be admitted into senior high schools for their excellent performance in athletics and arts.

⁵² This means education about how students are supposed to behave.

themselves. (W7)

Generally speaking, it shows these principals are trying to lead their schools away from the over-emphasis on students' academic achievement and paying more attention to other aspects of schooling.

Involving teachers, students and parents in decision-making

An obvious feature of democratisation in schools is the reform of decision-making within them. As teachers, parents and students have been given more legal rights to participate, most principals have responded to the change, but to different degrees. Generally speaking, the women principals I interviewed seemed to try to include various groups in the process more actively than men.

W4 does not see the need to taking the whole responsibility of managing her school, but express an expectation of school leadership, which is similar what Hopkins (2001) sees as 'distributed leadership', which has leadership widely spread amongst its members and distribute throughout the school community.

I think they (other principals) have more of a sense of mission and they think they should take responsibility for the success and the failure of the school. I expect to run a school that belongs to all staff, students and parents. I always told the parents: you are the bosses, you hire me. You pay tax, which is why I am hired by you. Parents are all very happy because I call them bosses. I also told teachers that if this school runs well, it's because your teaching is excellent, not because of me. (W4)

I think there was a dilemma here. W2 wanted to be democratic, but she was afraid that

teachers might not be able to set limits.

I am more open. I do not care about the power of being a principal...Teachers have professional knowledge. But I tell teachers that they have to take responsibility for their decisions.'(So you are also quite democratic?) 'I am swinging between democratic and authoritative. (W2)

Moreover, the emphasise of three-way 'win-win' strategies - between Parent Association, Teacher Association and school managers in principals and managers' training programs (see Diagram 6-3; 6-4) - all show that decision-making in schools is no longer solely in the hands of school managers.

Focus on the individual school's needs

Vision for schools has much to do with the school's location, size, and level of academic achievement, as Hillman and Stoll (1994) indicate:

Vision bridges the past, present and future of the school. It must engage with the history of the school, the development of its ethos, its success and failures, previous strategies for improvement, and earlier attempts to articulate a way forward. It must be well-grounded in the existing circumstances of the school: its pupil intake, staffing and resources, its place in the community, and the challenges it faces (p.1).

In larger schools (which tend to be more academically successful) in Taiwan, the principals may simply act as managers. However, as women principals tend to be more junior than men principals, they tend to be sent to smaller schools. Thus they are freer to develop the kind of school environment they would like to have.

The way I do things is to build up a good foundation (when I come to a new school).

First, I advocate my educational beliefs. In my first school, I put the same effort into academic achievement and the concept of education. My second school is more academic. In this school, I try to consult to academics in the universities to help teachers to improve their teaching skills. As for environmental education, I ask help from parents. (W7)

M1's main concern was about the stability of the campus. This is probably because a radical educational project had been initiated in his school by the Bureau of Education. Since he felt that he was not in control, he emphasised his rather vague hope that everything would be all right.

I think the stability of the campus is the most important thing. Students should be the main body, teachers and parents are the next. (...) I hope our teachers can instil more of a love of education into students. Students should read more. If students read, they will not stray away. (M1)

However, though M1 talked about these hopes, the teachers felt that the principal gave them a great deal of freedom to do what they want. W8's school was very well established. Therefore, she seemed chiefly concerned about management and administrative issues. Probably for this reason, she thought that her 'concerns are not much different from those of other principals.'

I do not feel that there is any challenge.' [No?] This is an enormous institution. It would be easier in other schools..., but I need to make a great deal of effort to overcome things here. Actually, it's not such a big challenge to provide students with new facilities. The thing is that different challenges appear every day; new things come up every day. (W8)

Above all, it is clear that whether managers discuss being student-centred, developing

diverse curriculum, involving teachers, students and parents in school decision-making or planning according to the needs of the schools, they are all concerned with the results of democratisation.

The research done by Gold, et al. in 2002 shows that the most effective leaders are usually value-driven in the UK. Referring from the British case, it is important that principals' vision is firmly rooted in their beliefs and values. However, the educational reform in Taiwan initiated and imposed by the government (mentioned from time to time during the interviews) may bring certain difficulties for principals' values to reconcile with their vision. On the other hand, the government's imposition also makes it difficult for schools to carry out their own vision (if any), where this differs from the official version. The principals have to co-operate with the educational authorities, though they may not necessarily agree with them.

6.3.3 Teachers' values

However, even where people seem to share a similar vision, in reality the climate, culture and ethos of a school and the values which prevail still have an influence on making the vision a reality. Trethowan (1991:12) suggests:

These values are long term and not easy to change. They deeply influence a school because they are the touchstone by which people decide what is right, good and correct or bad, wrong and incorrect within an organisation....every organisation has this value-base or ethos. Its ethos is either planned and managed or it has developed under the influence of chance factors, serendipitous incidents and random personalities.

Any planned change within a school which does not take account of the existing ethos runs the risk of failure. The problem is that members of organisations will almost certainly have their own notion of values, and schools themselves develop their own qualities, which, as Hoyle (1986:3) pointed out, can transcend their structures. Central to the concept of culture is the idea of values: that which is regarded as worthwhile by members of some group. If a distinctive sub-culture develops amongst teachers with values quite opposed to the dominant culture of the school, it will probably become a problem.

This seems to be the case in Taiwan, as school managers are moving forward very quickly while there are few areas of agreement with all their colleagues, and teachers seem to be being left behind.

The teachers always speak from a high position. [Their attitudes?] It is an attitude problem. I keep telling teachers, if they need to call parents, they should be gentle. It is not easy. Teachers' verbal violence toward students... It is the way teacher used to speak. (...) Therefore, if I were to retire, the biggest reason will be that I am unable to change teachers. (sounds from the background) Someone is hitting children now.(W4)

W9 had asked an unsuitable teacher to retire and encountered much resistance from teachers.

The teachers cannot accept it (the incident). (...) Do you understand me? Teachers as a group, they think they are excellent and that they are distributed by the national normal universities. (W9)

Before, teachers were the boss. Now they feel that they are mistreated. (M3)

In School 4, a middle manager (S2, M) mentioned that school democratisation has made students grow to like their school very much as they are able to participate in decision-making in various school policies. At the same time, parents seem to be concerned about the lack of discipline and some teachers end up sending their children to neighbourhood schools other than those they teach in.

Something shared by most principals and managers is a concern with teachers' reluctance to change. As teachers enjoy high social status and privileges, they tend to be more conservative and less aware of the demands from the society for changes and reform than principals. The reform itself may even push a greater distance between managers and teachers in schools in Taiwan. Moreover, the traditional bureaucratic school system certainly does not help much in terms of communication between managers and teachers.

6.4 Conclusion: contradictories in the values and vision of staff in junior high schools in Taiwan

This chapter has traced the passive way in which school teachers become managers in Taiwan in order to illustrate why democratisation has posed such challenges. School principals perceive themselves as (1) occupying a position with no power; (2) wanting to practice democracy; but (3) confused about what to do. The research shows that the role of principals is indeed undergoing great change at this moment and has sought to explain why principals have difficulty in adjusting.

My findings suggest that that both men and women usually become managers in a passive way, as ambition should not be shown openly in Chinese society. Though some middle managers would like to be principals, so as to have more space to do what they would like to do in schools, they are usually deterred by the challenges of working with people, worse working condition in school management, their preference for teaching, their having an inappropriate major in their first degree, their family responsibilities, the examination requirements, and for the new principal appointment system. The preference for teaching and family responsibilities seem to be the major reasons for women not pursuing principalship, while the worse working conditions in school management seem to be a major concern for men.

Democratisation appears to be a very challenging task for principals as they have only recently learned to have their own voice and opinions and this is not developed in their management training. The centralised education system may bring out a shared vision, which may include: student-centredness, the development of a more diverse curriculum, involving teachers, students, and parents in decision-making, and emphasis on the individual needs of each school. But in general, the main shared vision among school principals in Taiwan is the aspiration for change and democracy. In Taiwan, the vision of school principals has certainly changed, or has shown an awareness of the need for change in the 1990s.

Nevertheless, teachers in Taiwan may not react to change in the same way as school managers and principals and there is evidence of conflict of vision and values among

school staff, in particular between principals and teachers. Even among principals who were mostly in their late 40s and 50s and had received an authoritarian style of education, there was some mismatch between their beliefs and their leadership styles. As Ozga and Deem (2000: 142) indicate, 'the significance of management in delivering changes in contemporary educational work in changing professional cultures cannot be overestimated.' However, it is important that the values and the vision of the school principals and staff should accommodate each other.

As Taiwanese teachers have gone through a competitive process to be qualified to teach, they enjoy high social status as teachers. They are comfortable putting all their attention in the classroom, and are used to being indifferent about school policy-making. Nevertheless as a group, they are strong enough to resist change in a silent but powerful way. Women principals in particular, as will be seen in the next chapter, probably need to make more effort than men to make changes happen.

Chapter Seven: Stereotypes of Men and Women Principals as Leading Differently

They (men) are not content with the situation at all now. It's like they were all defeated at Waterloo. (...) It becomes more and more obvious in this city. I think they are giving up their own rights. Women are fighting for territory now; they (men) just keep losing. (...) They have a myth. They say that there will be complete chaos in the city's education because women rule everything. This is their sense of crisis. (S1, F, School 4)

Ozga (1993) believes that women's complex 'careers' and their particular management styles and practices 'run together and reinforce one another' (p. 2). So, having shown how women become school managers, this chapter will go on to look at their leadership styles.

In the first section of this chapter, I will argue that there is a distinct form of interaction in Taiwanese schools between staff and principals, which generates a view of the dependable and dedicated middle and junior manager and a lack of interest by school teachers in their school principals. I shall also argue that this interaction affects teachers' expectations and perceptions of school principals. Democratisation is changing the mode of decision-making in school and will also affect people's perceptions of men and women principals.

In the second section, I shall show that my research found most people interviewed agreed there are differences between men and women principals. Women principals are seen by their staff to engage with change more but also to be too focused on details. Men

principals, on the other hand, are seen as traditional mandarins who are seen as giving general but clear direction at work. At the end, I shall argue that these stereotypes of women and men may come as a result of time, how principals are selected and their awareness of their gender.

7.1 Differences in forms of interactions among school staff

In order to understand what makes a good school leader and how he or she is assessed in the Taiwanese context, it is important to understand how people comprehend communication in different ways according to their different positions and genders.

7.1.1 Principals: getting business done, or co-operating with others

When asked about their relationship with staff, some principals viewed it as formal, as part of their work, whereas others responded that they did not have much time for 'that'. These responses initially confused me. However, I came to realise that some see building up relationships as a part of their job, as expressed in the idea of a 'social appointment', i.e. socialising with people who are related to their work, and usually more important/senior, so that they can run things more easily at work. It could mean going out with officials from government, professors from normal universities, middle managers from other schools or staff from their own schools, attending events related to school staff, or going to other schools for anniversary celebrations or school funfair days. Many people are aware of this culture, even though they may not like it. It seems to have a negative connotation for some. For instance, M2 accepted that going out with staff is considered as

an important way to build relationships. But he emphasises that he believes in 'mutual respect' more.

I do not like going out for meals (with staff based on formal relationship.) Some principals like it. But it costs money. Mainly, I have no time. I am very busy in school. Secondly, I think mutual respect is the most important thing to build up the relationship. (M2, School 10)

However, as a man he might not need much support at work from staff, but women principals often experienced isolation at work. Women principals seemed to feel less secure, and seemed to feel the need to work on getting acceptance more than men.

[How is your relationship with your staff?] I do not know. [How about with school managers?] I'm on a tight budget. All my middle managers live a modest life. They are strictly governed by their wives. Even were I to suggest meeting (after work), they would turn me down. (W6, School 6)

W6 could not answer/avoided my questions when I asked about her interaction with the staff. She has tried to invite the middle managers in her school to go out after school, but without success. She therefore suggested that socialising with her staff did not happen because she was on a tight budget and that they (the middle managers) also have their own reasons.

Smulders (1998: 28) found it was hard for women to be involved in male culture in higher educational institutions in India too, and perhaps, as in India, the middle managers in W6's school did not take up the offer because they wanted to maintain a formal relationship with their boss at work, or because (as she explained), they were concerned with their families.

Whatever the reasons, women principals do not seem comfortable for having only a formal relationship.

After I arrived, I asked the ex-principal's assistant about the background of every teacher. I send them birthday cards and write to them myself. Now, 4 years later, I have started to receive 2 birthday cards myself this year. ...Once a teacher miscarried; and I visited her in the hospital and brought her some gifts to wish her good luck. Sometimes, I take a walk to teachers' offices. I observe teachers, and find something they are interested in to talk to them about. Now, our Teachers' Association holds many activities in this school. They even prepare and arrange flowers that are needed in all kind of occasions in school. Therefore, I'd say that we have a quite pleasant working relationship with each other. (W5)

W5's efforts may not increase her credibility as a leader, however as most men principals have not previously done such things, nor do they see them as important.

She send my children red envelop at Chinese New Year's time. I do not think that it is necessary. No principal has done it before. (S1, M, School 5)

Rosener (1990) also suggests that women managers are more concerned about personal contact, though this is not necessarily the case, especially if they have a non-conventional life-style as I found in Taiwan.

[How's your relationship with staff?] Ordinary. [On which occasions do you usually meet one another?] Early morning and when the children leave school. I do not like chatting. ... To be honest, I do not like chatting because there are a lot of gossips. Principals have to be careful when they talk. Also, I am not married and I do not care much about other people's children and husbands. I do not have that experience (W4).

Private life can thus affect women principals' interactions at work and lead to their isolation. Shakeshaft (1987: 62) points out that women managers are more likely to be single, divorced or widowed, and this is true also in Taiwan where I conducted my study⁵³ which may put them in a disadvantaged situation for being 'different' from women teachers or even other men principals.

On the other hand, W4 gave an ambiguous answer about her relationship with staff. Her single status may be an obstacle to close contact with teachers, but she established a quasi family relationship with students and allowed herself to be called 'mother', both in public and in school publications.

W8 (a senior principal) sensed that teachers were keeping their distance from her, but she interpreted this as a problem existing before she came.

Ordinary people stay away from me. [Do you mean teachers?] Both teachers and managers. Especially since this is an old and large school. The offices are scattered everywhere. There used to be few meetings and the effect was not good. For many years, teachers felt the principal was far away. I want to work on this. They tend to think that I am harsh. (W8)

Both W8 and W4 had been principals for a long time. Their seniority enables them to talk more frankly about resistance from staff.

Generally speaking, most principals whom I interviewed would not discuss their relationship with staff in detail, but there seems a general lack of personal or informal

⁵³ Among eight women principals in my study, two were single, one was divorced, and one has separated

communication, and most staff responded to the principals only formally. Among the 11 schools, only M3 had a very good informal relationship with his staff. Most principals in fact did not seem to know what their staff did think of them, though women principals in particular tried their best to work on the relationship and seemed to care about their staff's opinions. But even the women principals talked mainly about their efforts to approach staff, rather than the actual outcomes. Lack of knowledge left them vulnerable; but men principals were more relaxed and accepted the distance better.

7.1.2 Dependable and dedicated managers

Middle managers and teachers talked to me in quite different language. Middle managers are usually recruited by the principal personally, though she or he needs to get permission from the Teacher Appeal Senate in schools. It can therefore be assumed that the principals and their middle managers in my sample shared certain values and vision and had quite a close bond from the beginning. Certainly in interviews, middle managers in schools in Taiwan tended to speak positively about their principals.

But the interaction between the principal and teachers was different.

The principal has a more formal relationship with teachers. As to school managers (including the principal), we are an administrative team (S2, M, School 4).

I found two main types of middle managers: those who completely identified themselves with their principals' beliefs and decisions; and those who did not necessarily agree with

from the husband, while all three men principals were married.

everything, but tried to co-operate.

Because of the emphasis of ethics in Confucianism (see Chapter 2), loyalty is a key concern for school managers in Taiwan. Middle managers' good relationship with principals and their rarely speaking ill of them, reflects their work ethics. When they did show their disagreement in conversation, they used very subtle language to express their different opinions. Only one manager whom I interviewed directly criticised the current principal's leadership. This man manager came to this school only that year, and because most other middle managers had left the previous year. He told me indirectly that interaction was not good. However, he did not say exactly why the principal did not get along well with the staff, and he tried to separate his own opinions from those of others and to avoid giving direct answers.

[How's the relationship?] I feel...quite confused. I was talking with my colleagues about this. (...) They feel that she demands too much. (S1, M, School 3)

Another woman manager from the same school blamed teachers for the negative relationship between the woman principal and the teachers. She admitted she would not know directly what the teachers said, but the junior managers would tell her.

You can see the positive attitudes from the parents and you can also sense the resistance from teachers. I feel these. (...) They make some irrational criticisms. Of course, I cannot hear what teachers say. I definitely cannot hear because I am a middle manager. But the junior managers who work under me come and tell me. They teach quite a lot of hours (which means that they get to meet other teachers quite often.) (S2, F, School 3)

This shows that the hierarchy of the school management may block channels of

communication, though people find ways around them. For junior managers, however, it can be a very different story.

I do not know. I do not see how they (principals and middle managers) get along. The only time I've seen them is in managers' meetings. That's where we meet her regularly. The middle managers do most of the talking during the meeting. It is only for the sake of practice (to be a manager) that we junior managers speak. [How about the principal and teachers?] Hum... generally speaking... Actually it is not just the principal, teachers would not go there (the principal's office) unless they have business to talk about. When I was only a teacher, I did not go there unless I had things to talk about. This is a mutual thing. Generally speaking, teachers just want to manage their own affairs. (J1, F, School 8)

This junior manager admitted that she did not know much about the interaction between middle managers and the principal because she only met the principal on formal occasions. So even though she is in fact a member of the school management team, she does not believe she has as much right to speak as middle managers. She showed a passive attitude to participating in school decision- making.

She is very active. She comes to school around 6:00 a.m. every morning. If you don't see her with children at the front gate, she is working in the flower nursery. (...) Of course, people will have different opinions about this because... hum... Another dimension is that you can have direct contact with children. [Previous principals would not do things like these?] Humm..., right. You get closer to children and you may understand better and you can reflect it in your educational policy or make some adjustment. However, there are different views. The closeness is easier to cause ...when teachers and managers do not handle things the same way (as the principal.) (S1, M, School 6)

So, even though studies (Smulders, 1998; Rosener, 1990) point out that women managers

tend to have more contact with staff, women's active approaches towards students may arouse suspicion or uncomfortable feelings in Taiwan. S1, cited above, describes people's resistance to a woman principal who actively approached staff and students. Her efforts were not appreciated by staff used to more distant school principals. However, because he indicates his disapproval in a very subtle way, we need to read between the lines to understand it: his disapproval shows that school staff are happier with more distant interaction with men principals.

A sense of dedication (as a work ethic) clearly existed among managers. In the above accounts, managers were trying to defend their principals, and even though on certain issues they disagreed with them, they expressed their opinions in an oblique way. However, they too expected a certain distance from school principals and were not comfortable when principals tried to cross the line.

To underline this point, I found that middle and junior managers hardly ever criticised their own principal in the eleven schools in Taiwan. In general, middle managers had enough communication with the principals for them to understand each other, though this did not extend to junior managers under the hierarchical system. However, the kind of relationship which existed between principals and managers, although it could help make it easier to execute policies issued from the top, could also be a disadvantage when trying to bring democratisation into schools.

7.1.3 Teachers who teach and keep their distance from the principal

Teachers usually commented more freely about their principals than did managers. However, I found most of them had a quite limited understanding of the role of the principal. Teachers tend to lack interest in not only the principal and but also in school administration and management generally unless they are elected as the chair of Teachers' Associations. Most of the teachers I interviewed believed their priority was teaching, not administration or management. Consequently, teachers rarely go to the principal's office unless something serious has happened. Many principals mentioned that they visited the teachers' offices to show their accessibility, but this did not actually work, since most teachers do not see the need to talk to the principal, and with the exception of teachers who worked with one senior man principal (School 11), teachers claimed that they were not comfortable with the principal around.

This is a very interesting dislocation: teachers in Taiwan do not perceive any strong connection between the effectiveness of their teaching and the way in which they are managed. Teachers expect help from middle managers in the office of studies and office of general affairs (see Section 2.2.3), but principals are not perceived as having direct responsibility for their teaching. Whereas in the UK, there is a concern for it.

There is a particular interpretation of 'professional leadership' and there is an assumed causal connection between what the Head does and the outcomes from the school such as ethos and teaching quality. The National Standards make no connection between being a headteacher and actually continuing to teach. (Gunter, 2001b: 162).

If you are a class teacher, the influence from the principal is not obvious. The

principal's beliefs affect managers more directly. (T1, F, School 3)

I had more interactions with the principal when I was a manager. Since I became a class teacher, I haven't had many. Sometimes, when we meet on big occasions, we do talk a bit about the work. That's the time we have some interaction. Otherwise we are not that close. (T3, M, School 3)

Although there is little interaction between principals and teachers, and the latter may not see principals are directly responsible for the quality of teaching, principals do in fact exercise their influence through middle and junior managers. In addition, parents, middle managers and the community still hold the principals ultimately responsible for the academic performance of the schools in the national entrance examinations held every summer. However, the democratisation movement has disrupted the balance and forced both principals and teachers to reposition themselves as illustrated below.

Teachers prefer principals to 'do things according to the level' and to 'do their own job', which turns out to be what characterises men principals who follow the hierarchical system. They expected the principals' work to be clearly separated from their own.

The traditional idea is that the principals are the mandarins; teachers are their subjects. There is a clear distinction between mandarins and ordinary people. (...) I have been in school for such a long time. I do not care much about all these things [How the school is run?] I think the most important thing is to do your own job (teaching). (T3, F, School 6)

I suppose the relationship is normal. (She does not sound very sure.) How to put it? He is devoted. We do not go to him unless we have things to talk about. Mostly, we meet when we have class teacher meetings or teaching seminars. We do not go to him unless we have got business to talk about. (T2, F, School 9)

Humm... our principal is a very busy person. She is very busy and teachers are busy, too. We only see her at meetings. (T1, F, School 7)

The bureaucratic system has created a gap between the principal and teachers. The idea of a 'mandarin' is someone that ordinary people cannot associate with, so they tend to choose to keep at a distance, and despite the lack of understanding and trust between principals and teachers in Taiwan, most teachers were quite content with the current system. If they could concentrate on teaching, they did not complain about their limited influence. They have been well protected by the monopoly system, which offered them many privileges. However, since the teacher training system was opened up in 1995, and the authority for transferring teachers to different schools has been passed from the central government to the TAS in each individual school, they will surely feel the impact of these changes. Nevertheless, if teachers are ignorant of management tasks in schools, it is difficult to encourage them to participate in school decision-making - one of the most important element of democracy - despite the government's intention in establishing TASs and TASs (see Section 2.2.3). Many of these organisations therefore do not function as expected because of the lack of teachers' interest.

Referring to Weber, Smulders (1998) considers that bureaucratic activities are usually divided into a large number of tasks, which are linked to structural positions. These positions are hierarchically organised. 'At a certain position one is responsible for tasks at one's own level as well as for those on a hierarchically lower level' (p. 15). Furthermore, she considers that in this kind of organisation, 'a position's rights and obligations are always precisely defined, most often embodied in written rules and procedures, and the relations between positions are mainly impersonal' (p. 15).

This seems to describe schools in Taiwan well (see Section 2.2). My interviews confirmed that because of the bureaucratic school system, everyone tends to engage in their own tasks and there is a lack of communication between managers and teachers who are seen as on different career tracks. Thus, junior high school principals in Taiwan interact very differently with different groups of staff (middle managers, junior managers, and teachers), and with parents and the community. However, their positions make it difficult for them to know how their leadership is perceived.

7.2 Women and men lead differently

Most people I spoke to believe that there is a gender difference in leadership styles. This is consistent with many of the Western studies which conclude that men and women lead and manage differently and that women are more concerned with empowerment than with exercising power (Santos, 1996); that they are less hierarchical in their management of schools than men (Ozga, 1993; Ouston, 1993); and that they give more emphasis to team-building, interconnectedness, group problem solving, and shared decision making (Gupton & Slick 1996:139) Women managers have also been found to interact more frequently with teachers and parents than men, and to show a different style of interaction (Shakeshaft 1987:173). However, the characteristics of women principals in Taiwan found in this study are not exactly the same as in the Western literature.

Of 64 people interviewed, 48 agreed that Taiwanese men and women principals lead differently and an additional five, though they said there were no differences, actually

talked about the difference between men and women principals later.

The attributes these informants related to men and women principals of their own or generally were quite distinct. The terms they used most often are categorized below.

Table 7-1 The attributes of men and women principals in Taiwan

Women feel responsible for everything; while men stay within their official roles
a) Women are concerned with details (33)
b) Women works more for themselves and others - demanding women (15) and tolerant men (5)
c) Women have motherly attitudes: caring, gentle (11)
d) Women concern about tidiness (9)
e) Men establish the overall direction (16) while women miss the key issues (3)
f) Men delegate more (13)
g) Men are more easy-going ⁵⁴ (12)
h) Men make clear and decisive decisions (6) while women are indecisive (4)
Women are more active in making changes
a) Women are tough and ambitious (17)
b) Women actively respond to change (16)
c) Women emphasize task-focused rather than networks making (5)
d) Men are trapped by traditional image (less capable) (7)

7.2.1 Women feel responsible for everything; while men stay within their official roles

Most people interviewed agreed that women felt responsible for everything, while men stayed within their roles. In other words, women seemed to care about details more, and made more work for people, for instance through motherly attitudes and concerns about tidiness; while men seemed able to give overall direction, were more easy-going and willing to delegate, and showed clear decision-making ability. Women, on the other hand,

⁵⁴ The word 'easy-going' in Chinese is not necessarily negative and it can mean 'not fussy' or 'make an overall assessment'. Thus whether it works as a criticism or compliment depends on the context.

were seen as missing key issues and as indecisive.

a) Women principals are more concerned with details

Out of 53 people who agreed there were differences between men and women principals, 30 agreed that women focused more on details, while 24 mentioned that men focused on the overall direction of school leadership and management. Many interviewees saw women principals as more active, but at the same time, also misdirected.

Women managers, however, seemed to be more supportive of women principals than their men counterparts on the issue of concern with details.

I heard someone say that the next century would be the century of women. Because women are more careful and their thinking is more thorough. Men are more easy-going. Also, I feel that women are more active now and plan better (than men). I think gender is only one of the factors. (S2, F, School 3)

I admire women principals a lot. They are all very devoted and have clear ideas. (...) I worked with a man principal before. It was different. He did not care much. (...) Yes. Yes. He only cared about the big issues, not trivial things. Even on big issues, they could be quite easy-going. (...) Actually, asking for details is normal. Men are all easy-going. (S1, F, School 4)

One woman principal, cited below, tried to get hold of detail in her school, though this was very difficult in reality, as there were more than 3,000 students in her school.

He (the previous principal) demanded things and you just followed. But he did not --- Even teachers' private life, she (the current principal) knows well. (...) When I attend the class teachers' meeting. I feel that she talks a lot. I think she dominates. She dominates many things. (...) Probably because of the gender difference, men

and women principals do things in different ways. (...) Yes. She wants to know everything. If teachers have something to say, she wants you to talk to her directly. She does not want teachers to report to the middle managers and then have them tell her. It's one level more before she gets to know. (...). The principal always says: 'if you have anything to say, talk to me directly. Do not ask others to tell me.' (T1, F, School 8)

Sometimes, a concern for detail may be seen as interfering, and as showing a lack of delegation.

Sometimes, I think it's better to authorise others rather doing everything on your own. (...) It's better that you authorise people to do things. Then, the principal would not be so tired. If you interfere too much, people always resist. If you manage indirectly and have several levels under you, people will not resist you directly. (...) She does not talk about it (telling teachers to arrive earlier) in a clear way. But we have student assembly... etc. (...) and she will introduce all the form tutors one by one to let students get to know them.(laughing) (This is a trick to force teachers to be there.) (T3, F, School 6)

Women principals think in a more subtle way. They tend to have friction with teachers. Whether subtle or not, men principals they tend to manage big things and leave things of small importance to their staff. (...) This puts school managers under lots of pressure. (S2, M, School 4)

A further issue associated with women's excessive concern with detail, is their concern to stick to the rules. Because of the lack of role models, and knowledge about the current existing administrative culture in schools, new women principals were seen as not very flexible. One middle manager showed his disapproval strongly about a woman principal who followed the rules in a very rigid way.

But this woman principal, she is a bit fussy. If she finds a little drawback, she will

keep nagging. (...) If a manager goes out to have lunch and stays for more than one hour - not very often, just once - she keeps nagging and asks them to correct this kind of behaviour. She would say that they should apply for leave of absence for that hour. [Will she talk to them directly?] She thinks that the principal manages middle managers and middle managers should manage subordinates. Otherwise 'why should I hire you?' (...) The heaven is high and the emperor is far away. One may do whatever one pleases without fear of interference, right? These days, it's difficult to get a job in public service. If there is a vacancy, dozens apply. Before, it was different. The teachers here think they have done the school a favour by staying here. They think they could have gone to many places but they did not. (...) However, the principal does not mind an ugly scene⁵⁵. No matter how angry you are, she does not get angry. She will say: 'Mr./Mrs. X. Don't get angry. I am your superior. As a superior, I have the right to make demands. We can not ignore or not follow the rules just because of your personal problem.' When you advocate a reform, those who benefited from the old system will definitely resist. (S3, M, School 1)

This school was used to loose management and a relaxed atmosphere, being located in a suburban area. Its relationship-oriented staff (see Section 2.3.2) believed that the new principal should have appreciated the fact that they could have gone into other schools, but had not. But instead, she disrupted the harmony of the campus. Even confrontation from staff does not seem to alter her determination to enhance discipline in the school.

b) Women make more work for others and for themselves

One of the issues people often raised was around whether it was necessary to pay so much attention to detail.

Women principals are more careful and cautious. They cannot be very relaxed. They are not sure about their own decisions. (...) As a result, the subordinates feel tired; they also have to do many things to prove themselves. [Are these your

⁵⁵ confrontations

personal experiences? Or did you hear them from others?] Both. Middle managers gather and chat sometimes. Women managers would make me busier. If you really think about it, you might question that it might not be more effective that way. Women are under pressure. Anyway, middle managers who work for women principals are usually exhausted. There are so many things to do. (S1, M, School 7)

Women principals W3 and W8 believed that it was necessary to go into detail even though they were aware of negative comments.

Sometimes, when you present something, people cannot tell that you have spent lots of effort on it. (...) With a personality like mine, whatever I do exhausts me. Therefore, I would say it does not matter what kind of job you do. Some people can be very relaxed. (...) But for example, there was a boy about to transfer to another school and he said it was because the family was going to move. But it could be related to his classmates (to school bullying). I would try to understand the situation. (...) You can just put a stamp on the paper, but I try to understand. (W3)

Men do not care about trivial things... But my famous saying is that I would rather handle endless trivial things everyday rather than allow big incidents to happen. The big incident is an accumulation of trivial things. (W8)

Some interviewees also viewed women principals as trying to act as role models in schools which, though considered a virtue in Confucianism, was not something done by men principals.

I think she does things herself before she asks others to do them. For example, when concerned about students' appearance and dress codes, she does not ask teachers to discipline their students. She asks students directly. She gives a hand. The principal does everything, down to every detail related to students. The current principal is different from the other principal. She runs faster, but the teachers' pace is very slow. (T1, F, School 4, Chair of Teacher Association)

Another difference of women principals is that they tend to be role models themselves. Compared with men principals, they (women) have stronger sense of responsibility. They tend to set an example by their own actions. [What about men principals?] If a man is a principal for a long time, well, he becomes well oiled. They tend to make overall assessments instead of getting into details. Easy-going. I should not say 'well oiled'. It's not good. I mean they tend to make an overall assessment instead of focusing on details. (S2, F, School 9)

The Chinese have a long history of valuing such leadership and also of preparing leaders on moral grounds (Wong, 1998). Therefore, in general, people expect principals in Taiwan to be role models in schools. However, this morality is probably gendered. As Lawton & Cowen (2001: 17) also note: 'within Confucianism, the search for harmony and virtue should be followed by all - but it is especially the virtue of the ruler that is of importance to society. Similarly, the virtues were gendered: the correct Confucianism virtues should be displayed by women but within a hierarchical pattern.'

Thus, even if women principals in Taiwan are prepared to do things themselves as well as telling teachers and students what to do, they are unlikely to gain as much as credibility as men principals.

c) Motherly attitudes

Some studies have reported that women teachers attach great importance to working with children (ILEA, 1984). Confucianism strongly connects family with government, and sees both as equally important (see Section 2.3.1). People in Taiwan do not see teachers' or school managers' professional status as being threatened by being associated with the role of parents; and in school publications and websites, it is common to see principals

named as 'great parents' (*da-chia-chang*).

As Chinese leaders are associated with parents, it is natural for women principals to be seen as 'mothers.' I feel they did not mind being associated with the domestic. On the contrary, they saw it as a strength and were comfortable in the role. So, some women principals, for example W4 and W6 especially, are very strict with managers, but pleasant to students: W6 disapproves of teachers' attitudes in many ways, and when it comes to students, she acts like a mother and disapproves most of the way teachers treat students. She made it very clear students were her priority.

I am fond of all my children, especially disabled and mentally-retarded children. I do not separate students according to their academic achievement; I distribute them in the normal way. I always plead with teachers: 'Please forgive me. The palm is my flesh; the back of the palm is my flesh, too. (By which she means she loves students and teachers equally). (W6)

When W4 behaved like a mother in relation to her students, a middle manager quoted below mentioned that students liked her more than their teachers. She saw this in a positive way, but in reality her teachers were not happy if they had a disagreement over discipline issues.

When the graduates come back to school, they always go to the principal instead of visiting their own class teachers. This is quite rare. (S3, F, School 4)

However, one of the middle managers was more reserved about the attitudes of his principal. It seemed that he would much prefer the principal (W6) to keep some distance from students. He did not criticize the principal directly, but he made his point by talking

about things in general:

You get closer to children and you may understand them better and you can reflect this in your educational policy or make some adjustments. However, there are different views. The closeness (between the principal and students) is easier to cause ... [But] if the teachers and managers do not handle things the same way (as the principal.) (...) sometimes, the principal should guard the bottom line. If you are not concerned about your authority at all, (...) Unless your subordinates are very capable and they can cover everything for you, I think you should still keep your bottom line. (S1, M, School 6)

Strachan (1999) reminds us that even though an ethic of care is central to feminist leadership practice, 'women's caring for others (for example, children and dependent adults) can reinforce women's oppression by patriarchal institutions such as schools' (p.310). Under the common term of 'great parent', the connotations of 'father' and 'mother' are always present, and different, especially in a culture (like Taiwan) that has strongly differentiated family roles.

d) Women's concern for tidiness

Keeping the place clean can be seen as one characteristic of focusing on details, but it was also mentioned as a distinct characteristic of women by many people interviewed. Women principals often care greatly about the cleanliness of the campus. Some suggested this makes them ignore more important things.

Women principals are more cautious and careful. Therefore their school is usually prettier. They would think the school needs some flowers. Men principals have a broader style so they are probably more concerned about school buildings and other plans. (...) Most women principals keep their schools very clean, such as desks and chairs etc... You feel their schools are more delicate. Men principals would think

functions are more important (than appearance). (S2, F, School 7)

When asked if she thought that her gender makes a difference to the way she leads, W3 and W2 made similar points.

Different genders bring different personalities. For example, the ex-principal (a man) did not make much effort to manage things, issues such as rubbish and tidiness. When I came to this school, the grass in front of the school was very long. He could leave it there. I cannot. I would intervene. I would pick up the rubbish. (W3)

I like tidiness. They think this is the common problem of women principals. I just explain to them the reason why we need to keep the campus clean. (W2)

Discussion with these women principals made clear that they are aware they are seen differently from men because they show 'too much' concern for the appearance of the campus. But they persist and insist on their own set of values.

e) Men principals just set the general direction

The men principals I interviewed gave the impression that they only established a general direction for the school; and I found people found it easier to work with them because they delegated instructions at work.

Yes. Most men principals would completely authorise the staff to do things. You set up the main direction together. They do not care about the details. You just have to achieve the mission. (...) When I first met a woman principal... actually I was not... a woman principal tells you the details in every dimension. Actually, our principal is a bit androgynous. Even though she is a woman, she acts like a man principal in many ways. She would completely authorise you to do things. But she does some

subtle things that women would do. (...) (S2, M, School 5)

The interviewee quoted above believed that men principals are better at setting up the main direction and making sure the errand is done while disregarding the process. He stopped abruptly just as he started talking about his first experience with women principals. As if afraid that I might misunderstood him, the interviewee mentioned that his current principal 'acts like' a man – intended as a compliment – which shows reality can sometimes contradict expectations that all women principals care about details.

When women principals go too far into detail, they are usually criticized for missing the key issues and for being unable to see things from a broader view. T4, a woman teacher, talked about women usually having a great deal of concerns generated from domestic life, which affect their way of managing.

Although I am a woman, I feel women cannot look at things from a broad perspective. It's because we usually worry about this and that. Women actually have lots of concerns, as I myself have lots of concerns. Men might feel that 'this is not a big deal. Why makes a fuss about it?' (...) I feel gender matters because a woman has to handle the pressure from the family as well. Your mind is full of those trivial things. Therefore, you worry about this trivial thing and that trivial thing. In the end, she does not do only the things that she should do at her level. (T4, F, School 3)

S2 shared the same view that although women have higher ideals, men get a better grasp on their goals.

Women principals are more concerned about details. They are softer. They have higher ideals. They pay attention to more things. But they do it in a soft way. Men principals – this is my personal experience, nothing to do with others – are more carefree and they also get a better grasp on their goals. (S2, M, School 6)

Although people recognized that women principals are putting more efforts than men at work, the conversation with them shows that men principals' way of managing gains more approval from school staff.

f) Men delegate more

In a bureaucratic system like Taiwan, tasks are clearly separated. Thus, most staff prefer principals not to intervene in their tasks. It appears that the leadership style of women principals is at variance with this preference.

The manager below considers that men principals look at outcomes only; while women principals also follow the procedures.

Most men principals give full delegation to his staff. In other words, after the general direction is set, they do not care not the execution details but only expect you to achieve the tasks successfully. (...) I think it should be target-oriented. I do not mind whether you reach the goal by running or jumping as long as you have it done. (S2, M, School 5)

Another manager simply see women have much desire for power:

There is one feature of women: they are more serious and more involved in their work. But they have a blind spot in management. That is, they want to rule everything, they involve themselves too much and they cannot give full responsibility to their staff. They grab everything. This situation also shows that they have too much desire for power. People feel more pressure from them than from men. (...). I feel they do not take the responsibility they ought to take. They manage too much unnecessary other business. That is how I feel. (S2, F, School 1)

While both man and woman managers above agreed that men principals are more willing

to delegate, women principals are seen as placing too much pressure on staff by following detailed procedures which is considered as unnecessary by staff.

g) Men are more easy-going

While women principals are seen as unable to delegate, men are seen as easy-going. Nevertheless, this easy-goingness is better perceived as it is associated with delegation.

Women sometimes need to handle pressure from their family. (...) They worry about this and that, so they have difficulty in differentiating things of different levels at work. (...) Men are more easy-going. You do whatever you like. (...) You should do things according to your level. Don't exhaust yourself. (T4, F. School 3)

I think men are more easy-going. They only pay attention to the key points. They are more willing to delegate their power to others. Women usually go through all details. Men are usually negotiators. (S1, M, School 7)

The Chair of the TA in School 5 believes that although he felt 'restricted', given time he could get used to a woman, - not to mention that he would have to, since women principals are 'everywhere' now.

I am used to working with men principals. I had a particular feeling...when I encountered my first woman principal... But there are women principals everywhere now. I suppose things will change. In the beginning, I could not get used to it. [Why?] Men tend to be easy-going. Women principals are more cautious. Therefore, we felt restricted. This was at the beginning, because there are women principals everywhere now.(T1, M, School 5) – Chair of Teacher Association

The accounts above show that both teachers and managers in Taiwan expect principals to 'do things according to your level', which means their jobs should have minimum intervention from the principals. Thus, 'easy-goingness' becomes a positive feature of

school leaders, mainly found on men principals.

h) Men made clear decisions

Giving general and broad instructions at work is perceived as clear decision-making by staff in Taiwanese schools. My interviewees confirmed Varghese's (1990) suggestion based on her study in India that:

Women are basically task oriented and they are sensitive to the needs of the organization. But what is lacking is the conceptual skills and the decisive nature' (p. 112)

For the following interviewee, men principals set a much clearer direction and also put staff under less pressure.

Men principals are less specific. Probably they are not as considerate as women principals are. But their decision-making is very clear. The staff can understand easily. They want to see results. They do not do everything by themselves nor do they follow every rule. These are differences. I think these are things that you are born with. (S2, M, School 4)

At the same time, men are seen as more decisive.

I think men principals are more decisive; women (principals) tend to take deeper consideration. Sometimes they nag more. (T1, F, School 8)

The following woman manager also indicated that indecision can be a problem while working with men subordinates.

Women should act quickly because you are leading men (subordinates). Do not regret (about decisions). I have worked with a woman principal who always told me what worried her after making a decision. Things will never work in this way.

(S3, F, School 10)

Some studies in the West also share the same finding as in Taiwan. For instance, Rosener (1990) suggests that men have to appear to be competitive, strong, tough, decisive, and in control, while women are allowed to be cooperative, emotional, supportive, and vulnerable. Pitner's (1981) detailed studies of the leadership styles of male and female school superintendents in North America also found that women's language was more hesitant and tentative, their agenda more informal and flexible (cited by Ozga, 1993), while Case (1994) looks at the issue from a somewhat different perspective and suggested:

Women, unlike men, are more apt to make decision by consensus. Men are more apt to make unilateral decisions and enforce them (p. 156).

7.2.2 Women are more actively engaged in making changes, while men remain with the traditional idea of principalship

The reason for change is that education has to respond to the circumstances and events happen in society. Schools, as organizations, need to develop, mature, adjust to both internal and external values. (Blandford, 1997: 175)

Wilenius and Ouston (1996) suggest that people tend to resist change as they fear anything different: the potential upheaval, a change in their routine, the possibility of proposed change failing. Thus, it is the manager's task to allay fear and facilitate changes. In my research, the school staff seemed to see women principals as more ready for leading change than men as illustrated below.

a) Women principals who are tough and ambitious

Some studies in the West suggest that women managers are less ambitious (Lynch 1994) and less confrontational (Jayne, 1989). However, some perceptions of the situation were the other way around in Taiwan. From the following accounts of two middle managers, it shows women are usually seen as 'tough' and 'serious'.

I find this with women principals in other schools. They seem tougher. (...) All the women principals I have ever seen have been tough. They tend to have a... they feel like doing certain things and then they compel people in school to do things the way they plan. (...) I feel these principals want to make a difference in school; to do things differently from the tradition. (S3, F, School 9)

I have heard that women principals are more ambitious. Many women apply for the principalship examination now. Some people think they are stricter. This is what I have heard. (...) What they ask for has not been asked for before. People cannot take it. I have heard about many principals... actually, I think they are working really hard. They are serious. (S1, M, School 10)

Some people acknowledge that women are more 'serious', even if the last manager (S1, M, School 10) referred to ideas he had 'heard' as a way to separate himself from all the opinions given. Reay and Ball (2000) suggest that:

As social visibility is intrinsic to leadership, women in leadership positions inevitably have to develop more masculine ways of interacting in order to be seen as authentic leaders (p. 147).

Lynch (1994: 14) finds that the quality of learners' and teachers' work is slightly higher in female-run schools in Ireland. She therefore suggests that women should be recognised as competent. This seems also to be true of women principals in Taiwan from the accounts

of my interviewees. However, Collinson and Hearn (1994) describe five ideal-typical masculinities which shape organizational life: paternalism, authoritarianism, entrepreneurialism, informalism and careerism. But when women principals in Taiwan try to operate within these masculine typologies, there can be problems. For instance, a paternalist approach can lead women principals to exhort other women to follow a career route to which those other women do not necessarily aspire. Since women principals have worked hard to reach their positions, they may want to help others to do the same, but without taking into account that other women may have different values.

Women principals are usually more capable. Apart from managing domestic work, they keep studying. She therefore thinks 'if I can do it, why can't you?' She thinks she is doing it for the benefit of everyone, for the benefit of teachers. But everyone has different preferences and develops in different ways. Some people are very keen on going into management after they leave universities; some people enjoy teaching. (...) Men principals are usually more perfunctory. They respect your choice more. But women principals think 'if I can do it, why can't you?' Sometimes, she actually asks everyone to do the same as her. Because there are more women principals in junior high schools, she thinks she has achieved something and all other women teachers should achieve it as well. (T3, F, School 6)

Even though many studies in the West (e.g. Shakeshaft, 1987; Rosener, 1990; Adler, et al., 1993) find that women are high on consideration dimension and have a higher percentage of contact with people. What I found is quite different from the West and similar to Varghese's work (1990: 113) in India that 'women by and large are task-oriented and would feel more responsible for moulding their subordinates into competent administrators.' Most men teachers have thought about becoming managers, so they may be much more easily persuaded. But women may need much more encouragement to become managers. Women principals may be seen as pressurising

women staff into excessive commitment towards their work.

b) Women principals who actively respond to change

Evetts (1994b:158) suggests that,

It is possible that promotion-successful women will become absorbed by the managerialist values and structures which they had to learn to operationalise in order to succeed. (p. 158).

Marshall (1984) agrees, and many of my interviewees also considered that women principals in Taiwan seem more ready for the changes proposed by government than men. It seems that women principals have, to a certain extent, to adopt ideas and strategies quickly in order to succeed:

You can feel she is a very active principal. So I think that we should follow her closely. After all, the times are different now. We all have to change. I think our principal is the kind of person that follows the trend of society quite well. (...) For example, the ways students go on to senior high schools is different now. Therefore, we have to change our teaching methods. She also expects teachers to continue to study, so they can keep up with changes in the society. (S2, F, School 3)

The school has now come to a key turning point to transform itself. Therefore, teachers have to change. There is no other choice. I think you have to know how to guide them. (W7)

When men used to dominate principalships within a centralised bureaucratic organisation, there was no need for them to have much contact with other people. However, school staff and parents are now asked to participate more in school management, and it seems most women principals have acknowledged these changes more quickly than men. They try

actively to democratise school policy-making. However, this has its problems as change can be unsettling, threatening and unpredictable (Blandford, 1997); and generally, although staff were aware of a need for change, this did not make their tasks easier.

Many women principals in this study saw themselves and were seen by others as having progressive ideas. The principal in School 7 was very advanced in ideas and some practices. However, just for this reason, she was very much in control of the direction of the school development. For her, this was not the best moment to invite more staff participation as she was keen to push forward all sort of educational projects of her own school.

I always refute those educational experts' slogans. (...) I am different from others. I am freer. I respect the people's feeling and I want the school to be as harmonious as an orchestra. (W7)

However, it seemed that her staff (T1) was having difficulty in catching up with her, though one recognised the effort that W7 had made:

She has just come, ... She has very good educational ideas. She works day and night and she wants to promote teachers' professional status. [How do teachers react?] Her ideas are very advanced. ...We need more time. Sometimes, you cannot see the result immediately. (T1, F, School 7)

The following man manager's description below about how TA was set up in his school shows the woman principal actively responding to change. She asked her managers to sign up the form so that the TA in her school could be established.

Teachers also wanted to set up TA, but no one want to make the first move. The

principal asked me. I signed first and asked the junior managers next. (S1, M, School 5)

However, even if women principals' efforts were approved, credit was still given to men. The following man middle manager recognised the woman principal's achievement, but he did not want to admit it directly. He approved of what she did, but attributed it to the previous man principal who had worked with them both before she became a principal.

[What does the principal care for most in this school?] We were taught by the same master. (He means that they used to be colleagues) She gives power to others. Of course, she still has her demands. (S1, M, School 2)

c) Women are task-focused while making less of a network

Yang (1982) suggest that women principals in Taiwan were more task-oriented while men were more relation-oriented, which could be because women have had no time to build up connections or networks. My research show a similar finding that women focus more on their tasks rather than their relationship with people. This teacher below explained how the difference is resulted by principals' social and family roles.

Women principals pay more attention to academic achievement. (...) It's a main index of their performance. Men principals are different. They socialise in a different way. They are more flexible in their time. (T1, M, School 11)

For women principals, their lack of networking is probably inevitable, due to their unwillingness to let their jobs get in the way of their family life.

It is more problematic in the weekend. My husband is quite supportive. I do not attend any social appointments and gatherings in the evening. I told parents: 'I

need to return to my family in the evening though I do respect you (even if I do not show up at evening occasions). I want to keep a balance on both sides (family and work). The parents (in my previous school) supported me for 8 years. I hope I can gain the same support here.' (W5)

Lin, an official for the Bureau of Education, also shared the same view based on his personal experience of interacting with men and women principals in the city.

Men principals, in comparison with women principals, emphasise relationships more. For instance, they would prefer to keep close contact with educational administrators (officials). I feel this way. Maybe men (principals) walk out of their campus more often than women. (...) Women principals do it as well, but to less extent. (Lin, from the Bureau of Education)

Lynch (1994) mentions the exclusion of women from patriarchal networks. Men principals' time is more flexible and they can build up networks as they do not give so much priority to family commitments. This gives them an advantage in relation to women. Where men can be widely recognised without reference to the work they actually do in school because of their better connected network, most women principals do not have an extensive network, and therefore can only be recognised through their work at school.

d) Men principals who are trapped by the traditional image

My impression of men principals are old men. In my impression, principals are all old men. (J1, F, School 2)

Halford and Leonard (2001) describe paternalism as 'a specifically masculine kind of control, which draws on the familiar metaphor of the "rule of the father" who is

authoritative, benevolent, self-disciplined and wise' (p.130). Kerfoot & Knights (1993) identify 'paternalistic masculinity' as a distinct mode of management which existed prior to the onset of a more competitive, ruthless work culture in the West in the late 1980s. For them, 'paternalistic masculinity reflects a quietly self-satisfied and "gentlemanly" style of managing, one untroubled with the rough and tumble of competition, and undignified and unseemly struggles for power' (cited by Whitehead, 1999). Whitehead (1999:63) found similarly in his research into further education in 1993 in the UK, that paternalistic masculinity was largely swept aside in the private sector: the 'sleepy paternalism' of further education management finally gave way to a new managerialist/masculinist ideology.

Most people perceive the traditional principal as a male figure in Taiwan and of course most principals were men until quite recently.

Our principal is from that generation (in his early 60s.) If we expect him to have certain things from this generation, that would be too much for him. I see him as trying his best. This is the only thing I can say. (...) Sometimes teachers complain about things, like the principal making decisions on his own without consulting others. He is used to this way because he is a principal. (S2, M, School 10)

Comparatively speaking, the interviewees seemed tolerant of men principals, though some women staff were sarcastic about them. The following account of M1 and his staff show a philosophy of 'make-no-mistake,' which is very different from that of those women principals who are keen to make change, take risks and face challenges.

Men principals probably think that all they have to do is sit there. (laughing) (...) The principals before were all men; the majority (principals) were men. He could act like a traditional principal... more... he thought that was fine so long as he did

not make any mistake, as long as things ran smoothly. (S3, F, School 9) Substitute middle manager

This principal himself said:

I think the stability of the campus is the most important thing. Students are the main body in the school and parents are the next. (...) I hope teachers will love their students more and students will study more. Students should study more. Those who like studying never go astray, like me(who used to study hard), though there is no guarantee of success. (M1, School 9)

Coleman suggests (1996) 'male heads were seen as likely to be more concerned with the maintenance of authority and status than female heads' (p. 172). In Taiwan because of the influence of Confucianism and of the bureaucratic education system, principals in earlier days might assume it was safer to do nothing rather than participate in educational reforms. The senior man principal quoted below shows a similar attitude. Instead of making his vision clear to people at the beginning, he takes his time. Changes may therefore not happen at all.

The older the school, the more solid its culture will be.... I can adjust. I am different from others. (...) Some go to a school to execute their ideals. (...) I do not. I want to know its old culture first... I understand it first, to see if there is anything I can change and remove. I take time to do this. (...) Students' behaviour and the harmony of the campus are the most important things. (M3, School 11)

It seems however that when there is less interference from principals, they actually receive more respect from staff. But only men principals can afford to do nothing. Women principals do not have the same authority.

Actually, I find that the principal does not demand much. He only follows orders

from superiors. He acts according to the regulations. As long as it's legal, he does not interfere with the work of any departments. Any activity that we want to run, he supports us as long as it's not against the law. (...) He is very polite; he says: 'I hope you all can...' instead of 'you should...' (S3, F, School 9) -- Substitute middle manager

In this school (School 9), most staff members were happy with the principal's (M1) undemanding attitudes and they spoke highly of him and their freedom to do whatever they liked.

The current principal is very nice. He is a Mr. Nice. Some principals are like 'A new official leaves no grass under his feet,' do this, do that ... etc. Make it look very prosperous and lively. Some principals govern by doing nothing or letting things govern by themselves⁵⁶. [How about this principal?] He does not demand much from you. It all depends on our sense of responsibility. For example, I've a strong sense of responsibility. You do not have to demand that I do things; I will manage well by myself. I am like this. (...) He makes some demands, but not aggressively. [Which kind of principal do you prefer?] I prefer in between. Leadership should be in between. (...) Of course, everyone has a different idea about how to manage a school. I feel that our principal expects us to be self-determined, self-managed and self-motivated. He is very polite, he will mention things, but in an indirect way. He does not offend you. (S2, F, School 9)

Underneath the surface, however these statements imply that M1 could be more active. The term 'Mr. Nice' in Chinese means a person who agrees with everything. It has a slightly negative connotation. Moreover, when the manager mentioned that 'some principals govern by doing nothing or letting things govern by themselves,' it can be assumed that she considers this principal belongs in this category. As she further mentions, she prefers 'in-between leadership', this choice shows her slight disapproval.

⁵⁶ This is seen as the most desired situation by a saint-like emperor in Chinese philosophy. However, the meaning becomes negative these days, as no leaders can be expected to be capable enough to reach this kind of harmonious and ideal situation.

Nevertheless, her statement indicates a significant issue: that teachers, as well as managers, highly dislike being told what to do in Taiwanese schools. Their high status in the society is probably one of the main reasons.

Some teachers consider this kind of non-interfering attitude shows a form of respect.

I think our principal respects teachers very much. The principal praises teachers' teaching and agrees with the way we handle things. Probably because we all have self-respect, the principal does not worry about us much. He is a very experienced teacher himself. (...) He talks about his teaching experience in the staff meetings sometimes. But he also understands that how things are done depends on different places and different times. Therefore, you cannot treat students in the old way these days. I feel that the principal is quite considerate toward teachers. Therefore, generally speaking, I do not feel that he puts any pressure to us. On the contrary, I feel that he encourages teachers to treat students in their own way. He does not demand that teachers go with him, to build up his empire. (T1, F, School 9)

M3 was an example of a kind and gentle mandarin figure. He was a senior principal and seemed to be quite relaxed compared with other principals. During my visit, I did not feel that he had as busy a schedule as others. When I asked for some basic documents, the managers did not have much to offer me. However, his interaction with all his staff was very good. M3 was concerned that the recruitment of students was decreasing, and he complained that the number of students dropped wherever he went. However, he did not have any particular strategy to improve the situation. In other words, he was charming and friendly, but he had no professional focus on issues such as falling rolls and paperwork. Nevertheless, he was very much favoured by all the staff I talked to in his school.

7.3 How the difference between men and women principals occurs

Above all, we can see women principals in Taiwan are seen as actively wanting to be involved with things and making changes, while men principals are seen as staying within their official roles - being able to the establish overall direction, being easy-going, and giving decisive decisions, while being seen as less capable at times.

Why did these women appear so active? The interviewees offered some reasons to explain both why they become principals and why they lead in this way. Some argued that it is about the present moment in time, not about the gender:

Maybe (the change) is not only related to the principal. Now, the TAS is set up in school. It is not the principal who asks us to set it up. It is just the trend. She is young so she is more democratic. (T3, F, School 4)

The leadership styles of principals are affected by time. It is democratic society now, the principal has to adjust to the existence of the TA and the TAS and change his/her leadership style. (...) The previous principal cared a lot about the ethical relationship among staff and how staff greet each other (...) Our principal is very persuasive. We should learn how she expresses herself. It is an era of public relationships. It is quite important for you to learn to express yourself. (S3, M, School 2)

Another explanation for women's management styles lies in the way managers are selected. As discussed before, Taiwanese managers are 'selected' rather than applying for positions themselves, and men have always been preferred. Consequently, the women who are selected probably show more capability and determination or more masculine

traits and are more willing to respond to change.

Being a woman itself can be another reason for women's proactive stance. They feel they need to work harder than men, just because of being women.

You have to be a lot better than them (men) to get opportunities. I understand boys better because I grew up with them (her major is science.) [you mean?] Sometimes I do not answer and pretend I am stupid. [Even as a principal?] I still flatter them a bit in the meetings. Actually, am I capable? I am capable of pretending! Here, I often pretend to be stupid or talk less sharply. (W7)

Some people reject being judged by their gender. W7 was quite aware that age and gender have a strong influence on women's careers and that she coped with it by doing better and working harder than men. W6 was also aware that she needed to work harder, as a woman. However, she believed that gender would not be in the way when she needed to deal with parents and students. She rejected the idea that the reason why she could manage parents and students easily was that she is a woman.

Women principals have to work harder among adults. But when it comes to dealing with parents, there are no differences. Students like me a lot. [You usually have direct interaction with students?] Yes. [Is it because you are a woman?] Nothing to do with being a woman. Because I am XXX (her name). (W6)

She believed that it was her own character that won people over, and did not admit that most women principals, very often being mothers themselves, develop closer relationships with students and parents than do men.

The behaviour of women principals in Taiwan is thus similar to what Ozga (1993)

describes as the ‘overvaluing of masculine, public-sphere behaviour’ in the West during the 1980s:

This in turn would lead to an emphasis on strategies for change which encourage women to adopt masculine behaviours and values – to be competitive aggressive; to look like men – as evidenced in their crassest form in the wave of 1980s advertising, films and pulp fiction featuring power-dressed women executives (p. 9).

Nevertheless, when if women principals act in a rather masculine way in Taiwan, they are unlikely to be accepted easily by staff. For men and women are usually judged by different criteria.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated particular ways of communicating and relating in schools in Taiwan. The purpose was to give readers some ideas of how such organisations operate in this different cultural context. It was also stressed that recent changes have challenged the existing masculine leadership in Taiwan. This research found that most principals did not have a clear idea of how they were perceived by their staff, and that teachers usually have very little understanding of their principals, both being due to the bureaucratic system. Managers usually have a better understanding of their principals because they work more closely with them.

Most people interviewed agreed that there are differences between men and women principals. Women principals are seen as more engaged in change and as trying to cover all aspects of school affairs, from the top to the bottom, and as focused too much on

details. Men principals, on the other hand, are seen as traditional mandarins and more relaxed at work. These gender stereotypes are maintained.

Many men and women principals in Taiwan choose to call themselves 'the great parent', disregarding their gender. This term is used with pride and care and is a kind of professional identity in school hardly found in the West. But the term probably has different denotations for men and women principals - as father versus mother.

The most important finding, however, is the difference in the gendered school culture in Taiwan from the West, and especially in what are seen as the characteristics of a good leader. In Chinese society, harmony is valued, people are expected to act according to their position, and there is a tendency towards an authoritarian personality. The picture of masculine leadership in Taiwanese school is thus quite different from the picture in the West.

Blackmore (1993b) argues that:

...the hegemonic image of masculinity associated with administration was one which stressed the rational, unemotional, logical and authoritative aspects of human behaviour' (p. 34).

By contrast, hegemonic masculinity in Taiwanese school management is associated with delegation, easy-goingness, decisiveness and a laid-back attitude within the school but sociability outside it. Johnston (1986) suggests that the role a person plays is in part determined by the expectations of those with whom the player interacts, and there are different criteria for 'ideal' male and 'ideal' female heads. An 'ideal' male head is

authoritative, while an 'ideal' female' is facilitative. In Taiwan this would have to be rephrased as an ideal male principal model of a Confucian mandarin with attributes of tolerance, maintaining distance from staff, always giving general but clear direction and are more likely to be at ease within the hierarchal system.

On the other hand, to 'get things done' in conservative environments like schools, principals need to be proactive or even to impose certain changes before people feel ready. Conflicts and contradictions then appear, as I will illustrate in the next chapter how these different criteria affect people's preference for working with men and women principals.

If a man principal runs his school successfully, we say he is decisive; if it is a woman; we say she is strict. (T1, M, School 11)

Chapter 8: The Gendered School Principal

If the same thing had been done by the previous principal (a man), it could have been quite easy. But if she does it – probably she does not know the art of speaking and nor how to communicate with people—people complain more than before. (T1, F, School 1) -- Chair of Teacher Association

As became clear in the previous discussion, school staff in this research perceive men and women as managing differently. This chapter asks which gender they prefer to work with and looks at their explanations for their preference. While most staff mentioned that they preferred working with men principals, no teacher clearly indicated that he or she preferred working with women, even though they might claim to get along well with women principals.

I then proceed to try to understand the stereotype of ‘male’ management in Taiwanese junior high schools in order to explain why people would prefer to work with men. I conclude that the preference is a result of people: (1) preferring to keep a distance from principals, (2) caring more about character and relationships than about effecting changes and getting things done, and (3) preferring rational (men) rather than emotional (women) principals in Taiwan. This supports both Halford and Leonard’s (2001: 56) argument that formal organisational rules and procedures are patriarchal and that men use organisational structures to sustain their dominance, and Acker’s (1990) belief that bureaucratic organisations are deeply gendered.

8.1 Preference for working with the same or the other gender

In the interviews, questions were asked in different ways to discover whether the interviewees preferred to work with men or women principals. The first question was a direct one about preference for men or women; the second was whether they preferred to work with principals of the same or different gender than themselves.

Some studies in the USA during the 1970s (Rosen and Jerdee, 1973, 1974; Schein, 1975) indicate that men and women managers hold similar and often negative attitudes towards women in management positions. I found a similar situation in the late 1990s in Taiwan. I asked those who believe there is a gender difference between men and women principals, whether their preference was to work with men or women or which gender they found easier to work with. Some did not want to talk about their preferences, but others were willing to do so.

Table 8-1: A calculation of the number of those who express a preference

Gender of interviewees	Better to work with men	Better to work with women	Indicating having no preference
Men	12	0	8
Women	12	7	8
Total	24	7	16

8.1.1 Men's views

Catherine Marshall (1985:138) found that women managers in her study felt that male managers were unaccustomed to working with women as colleagues and were

uncomfortable when interacting with women who were serious, professional, and equal in status and expertise. Some men teachers and managers in this study agreed that it is better to work with men. The following middle manager argued that being of the same gender brings people closer.

This is something I can't deny. The gender difference does affect me. I have worked with men principals and women principals. I feel completely different. I think principals and middle managers cooperate better if they are the same gender. Different genders will bring more distance. (S2, M, School 4)

For example, I am a man manager. If I had a man principal and if he did something wrong, I could scold him face to face. But I cannot do this to a woman principal. (...) I cannot swear. (...) We are naturally closer to men principals. (S1, M, School 2)

Maddox and Parkin (1993) identify six common 'gender cultures' from their work in the local government. There are the gentleman's club, the barrack yard, the locker room, the gender-blind, the lip-service feminist pretender, and the smart macho. Nicolson (1996) says men find it difficult to cope when they need to work with women managers because the 'subordinated men are less than men' (p. 115). In all cases the arguments show that women managers can be excluded in schools because of their gender does not seem to fit with the masculine image of management. The above two men managers' preference for working with men principals confirms that it is no exception in Taiwan.

8.1.2 Women's views

Some women also expressed their preference for working with their own gender but this was rare.

She is my first woman principal. (...) But there is one thing which is better than before. That is you can treat the principal like a sister. You can talk about work and you can also talk about your private things. (...) Men principals talk about politics more. We did talk about private things sometimes. (...) Take our principal as an example, she behaves quite softly though she is actually decisive. But her approach is soft. In general, men principals are tougher. (S2, F, School 2)

While no men expressed a preference for working with women principals, some women mentioned their preference for working with men principals. The following woman interviewee suggests that men are likely to give her more space to do what she wants, which as Chapter 7 shows, is the general stereotype of men principals in Taiwan.

Personally, I prefer to work with traditional men principals. [The reason?] Probably because I also have ideas of my own. I prefer to do things I want to do. If I worked with a woman principal, she might have her own ideas. If my ideas are different from hers, I will have to listen to her. Take our principal as an example: I do not have any problem in working here so far because he does not interfere. He always let you do the things you want to do and I am allowed to do them. Therefore, if I could have a choice, I'd choose a principal that does not have many opinions, because I have lots of opinions myself. (S3, F, School 9)

Kanter (1977) further reports that women often find it difficult to manage other women and that it is more problematic for women to manage men since gender expectations are in conflict with administrative experiences. One woman manager argued that it is better for her, as a woman, to work with men because of greater tolerance for those of the opposite sex. However, in the end, she admitted that it is a question of women principals tending to be too concerned with detail and also admitting that she would probably do the same thing if she were a woman principal.

For the convenience of subordinates like us, I feel... for example, I am a woman,

and then it's better for me to work with a man principal. If the principal is a woman, they usually prefer to recruit men subordinates. They like to recruit men. [Why?] If the gender is different, they tend to accept each other better. The reason why I like men principals is because they tend to make an overall assessment instead of focusing on details. I do not like people who are fussy about details. (...) [What about if you were a principal yourself? How would you behave?] (laughing) You see, people always only make demand on others. If I were a principal... I guess I would behave like a woman principal; (laughing) Human beings are complicated. But I think the best way is in between. I, myself, also have a strong sense of responsibility, I'd also demand that things were considered carefully in every aspect. (S2, F, School 9)

Even though they held positive attitudes toward women principals, many women managers preferred working with men principals, reasoning that they would have more autonomy while working with them. Moreover, people expect men to be the leaders and know how men will behave. Women are used to men as principals – they know how the men will act and also how they themselves will be expected to behave.

The following woman teacher did not answer my final question about her preference, but she indicated what it was by stating that she felt less pressure while working with men.

I do not have any experience of working with them (women principals). Men principals have authority. People's first impression about women principals is that they are always smiling and kind. But if you actually work with them, you find... (...) Men principals are more tolerant. Women will not compromise a bit. Of course, they make high demands on themselves, too. It's difficult to say, because I do not work with them directly. (Do you have a personal preference?) Personally, I prefer... I feel less pressure when working with men principals. (T2, F, School 11)

This confirms that the situation in Taiwan is accordance with Davies and Gunawardena's

(1992) finding in an international inquiry 10 years ago, that 'while most teachers said they had no preference for either a male or female head, if they did make a choice, it was far more likely to be male' (p. 16).

It appears that there is a conflict here. People approve of women principals' leadership, but they are unwilling to work with them. However, since the bureaucratic system has previously given staff more space at work and teachers are used to this kind of freedom, they will no doubt prefer men principals whose image is associated with a higher degree of autonomy. Moreover, as Gray (1989) indicates, people expect men and women to behave according to their stereotypes, consequently, any behavior associated with the paradigm for the opposite sex is considered inappropriate and sometimes unacceptable (p. 38-9). In Taiwan today, men principals are preferred because school staff know about them and are used to them. Moreover, since men and women are still associated with strong gender stereotypes, any women principals who do behave 'like men' will still be less preferred. I also found some women principals who were aware of their gender positioning and not afraid to be different, but that it is not to say that they were going to be accepted easily in schools.

8.2 The stereotype of 'women' principals in Taiwan

Working with women principals tends to be associated with low morale for both men and women subordinates. Furthermore, there is usually a perceived hostility from women subordinates towards women managers.

8.2.1 Low morale

Schmuck (1992) points out that many of the images of outstanding women are 'negative or threatening' (p.53), while in her study of career stages of women, Catherine Marshall (1985) also found that men administrators are both unaccustomed to working with women as colleagues and uncomfortable when interacting with women who are serious, professional and equal in status and expertise. Marshall (1995: 307) points out the hostility can be directed at women by men who openly state that women are unsuitable for the business world or that they prefer working with men. My informants brought up the issue of low morale while working with women in Taiwan, suggesting this is because it is more likely that arguments and confrontation will occur. All these kinds of feelings present barriers for women managers at work in Taiwan. Also, I sense a kind of frustration for people working with women principals in Taiwan. Women are seen as more demanding and worst of all, they 'break the harmony' by demanding more and thus causing confrontations in schools. In a society that places much importance on harmony, principals need to be very concerned about it.

You experience more hardship if you work with a woman principal. You have to be very careful. (...) Men are careless. (If you work with them), you will be all right if you get the direction right. (S1, M, School 8)

Case (1994) suggests that men managers tend to make unilateral decisions and enforce them, while women try to avoid conflict. However, in Taiwan women principals seem often to be involved in confrontation with staff. One teacher started by talking about what happened in his friend's school. Gradually, he started to talk about the principal in his own school.

My friend's school has a woman principal. There was a huge fight in her school. [Why?] Some principals grab everything. Everything is up to her. She sets the rules. (...) Men principals do not go into detail. Women principals usually give the school a beautiful appearance.(...) We keep changing middle managers. Last year, we changed four, this year, we change four again. (...) Last year, a senior principal preferred to go to another school to be a teacher. Too much frustration. (T2, M, School 3)

Women subordinates may also share the same feelings, even when they contradict their actual experience.

My personal feeling is that women principals sometimes make you feel that they do not respect you. You feel less like this with men principals. I am a woman. When I work with men, I feel they don't hurt people easily. They would not hurt others. (...) Our current principal is very stable. She is a woman. She would express her viewpoint in a sincere way. I feel she is sincere, not emotional. She talks in an honest way, not indirectly. Maybe you do not feel good at the time, but she would let people feel that she does not want to attack us. (S2, F, School 1)

In a Chinese organization, where harmony is highly valued (see Section 2.3), school staff are concerned not only about right and wrong. Direct confrontation is especially not welcomed, and particularly not from a woman.

The previous principal managed in a very relaxed way. He would not blame teachers or managers in public. But the new principal probably demands a lot and she has expectations of us. (...) Once she ... it is... For example, we all have our self-esteem. But she always scolds teachers or managers in public. Sometimes, she scolds the middle or junior managers in the office. It makes the person very frustrated. If the person does not work, she has a right to do so. The thing is that he or she does work and has still been chided. Such a problem. (...) We can see that she has done lots of things for the school. The principal herself also gets very frustrated in the end, because she feels that many people are very hostile to her. (...) Therefore, I think the most serious things or the thing I dislike most, in the school is

the deadlock I feel in the meetings. (T4, F, School 3)

This is similar to Marshall's (1995: 313) finding that over half of the women in her study liked to be honest, straightforward and even 'blunt' in their communication: they positively valued this. However, she warns that such straightforwardness can lead to confrontation and/or could make women more vulnerable.

Though it seems that women principals are usually more active at this time of change (see Section 7.2.2), their staff generally seemed not as happy as those who worked with men. Low morale was quite clear in most schools led by women principals: in half of the schools run by women in this research, I was told that most of the middle managers left every year. Either they quit or they were forced to quit. W3 stated that she has to plead with people to be managers. In School 1, teachers were required to draw lots to be managers as no one wanted the post. In School 4, only one position for a middle manager was occupied. Of course, no one would tell me the actual reason why these managers left, but it was obvious that there was tension between them and the principals.

According to Chuang (2001), most school managers in Taiwan are negative about the changes brought in by educational reform at the moment though they hope these changes will be of more positive influence in the future. This is probably the cause of the low morale among school staff. Since Hall and Oldroyd (1990: 63) identify that in settings where the staff response to change is poor, morale is also likely to be low; and change agents are not respected (cited by Blandford: 1997: 128). In Taiwan, this is exacerbated by women principals being the main change agents, which in return continues the lack of respect towards them.

In general, the poor relationships were probably related to the women principals' uncertainty about their new role, and their excessive eagerness to bring about change, both of which created tension. Bowman, et al.'s (1965) work suggest that this is because that 'other people' believe the stereotypes and do not want to work with or for women, and if they have to, they make the women's lives difficult. But Anne Gold (1997) offers another explanation which suggests the problem is partly that women principals in Taiwan are still learning to be managers.

If those people who came from less powerful positions than those privileged by society reflected on the effects of their lack of access to power, they would work differently with power when they had it from those who have never had to engage in such arguments (p. 6-7).

8.2.2 Women are more critical to women

Some interviewees believe that women teachers can not get along well with women principals. W8 felt that women are more critical towards other women:

I am the first woman principal in the current school and the last school. In the beginning, teachers were not used to it. Women are more critical of women. They are more tolerant of men... I am very direct. Chinese bureaucratic culture is concerned about politeness and manner too much. ... I do not have so much time and I don't like hypocrisy (W8).

Jealousy of women principals' physical attraction, in particular, can be deemed as a threat.

According to one man manager:

I feel that there are different kinds of interaction. If women principals are old enough, I mean OLD ENOUGH and not so pretty, it's easier for them to advocate their school policies. [Why?] I do not know. I think it's related to women's mutual jealousy. One possibility is mutual jealousy; the other possibility – I call it 'slavery mentality'. This is probably the product of the patriarchal system. When women principals are very beautiful and dress fashionably, women teachers may react against them. (...) According to our experience, we know very well that they are capable being in today's position. (...) They (women teachers) have fewer problems with men principals. (S1, M, School 7)

However, he only focused on the reaction of women teachers without mentioning men subordinates – including himself. This does not mean that women managers' physical appearance does not have an impact on men subordinates. Walker (1993) indicates that 'styles of dress and hairstyles often cause unnecessary comments from both men and women. Some comments cause embarrassment, often leading to additional stress' (p. 22). Research conducted in Canada also shows that women have to manage their sexuality and gender in order to be taken seriously (Sheppard, 1989). Sinclair (1998) in Australia also shares a similar view,

Accustomed to judging and dismissing women on the basis of their sexual attractiveness, some men have difficulty dealing with more mature women simply as colleagues or bosses (p. 100).

Many people perceived it as a potential problem for women leaders to work with women subordinates because they oppose other women who might be in competition. This has elsewhere has been called the 'queen bee' syndrome (Gupton & Slick, 1996:137) (see Chapter 4).

Some people suggest other types of competition between women than appearance. Taiwanese women's identity usually includes their family role (see Section 3.1), and family (husbands and children) can become an extension of competition. For women principals, who are more likely to be single or divorced in the city where I conducted my research, this can be the basis of challenges to their authority. W4, who happens to be single, talked about 'what she read from literature', as a way to explain the reason she did not have a good relationship with teachers in her school.

From the literature, both men and women teachers dislike women bosses. (...) Women teachers in particular, they think women managers demand a lot and ask them to be more devoted. Among women colleagues, they also compete about their husbands and children, I read this in the literature. (W4)

Although she was unable to 'compete' with other women teachers for her single status, her marital status actually creates a gap between her and staff. It is also likely that her authority can be challenged for this reason. Furthermore, as women principals in this city are more likely to be single or divorced, as my research has found out, it is likely that their performance is undermined for their marital status.

8.3 The stereotype of 'men' principals in Taiwan

The women principals interviewed in this research seemed to face enormous challenges to be accepted and approved even by their women colleagues, partly because women managers were not in the past to be found in great numbers in Taiwanese schools.

The management ideal in teaching is contained in the concept of a male authority figure and 'a woman must demonstrate masculine attributes and qualities when in competition with men for such posts' (Roach, 1993:64). In the following section, I shall try to explore why women principals are less popular in Taiwan by drawing attention to people's expectations of both 'leaders' and the nature of 'principalship'. Women do not fit the stereotype of (male) management in Taiwan, and so people find a mismatch between their gender and their work as a school principal.

8.3.1 The preference for keeping a distance from the principal

In Chapter 6, I indicated that the relationships between teachers and principals in Taiwan are usually not very close. Teachers do not have much interest in school policy-making, and see their work in school as mainly classroom teaching. This is a result of a bureaucratic and hierarchical system that has limited people's interaction and thus their interest in principals' work. Furthermore, as principals are seen as 'mandarins', there is also a social distance between them and teachers. Teachers in Taiwan therefore feel more comfortable with distant principals: those who keep away and allow teachers to get on with their own work without much interference.

The teacher below described herself as 'autistic' for maintaining distance from the woman principal in her school.

Probably some (teachers) are her friends. I am an autistic type of person. I do not initiate an approach to the superior. (T3, F, School 4)

As principals can be seen as mandarins, approaching them can be seen as negative: as indicating a desire for power.

[How's the relationship between the principal and teachers?] I think it depends on individuals. Some people are more familiar with some people. They meet often. Some meet her quite rarely. [How about comparing her with the previous principal?] Before, we had a man principal... It's better to keep a certain distance. Now, it's a woman principal. I feel different. [Do you prefer to keep some distance?] Hum... Now there is only a one-year age difference (between the teacher and the principal). Probably people are more easy-going with one another now. (laughing) I think you understand what I mean. [What do you prefer?] I think we should... (keep a distance?) Don't ask me to criticise. It's not good. There are individual differences. Probably some people prefer to be easy-going, think it is better this way. But I always feel... (T1, F, School 2)

The teacher disapproves of the behaviour of the woman principal and described it as 'easy-going'. She seemed to have a better opinion of traditional men principals, who keep their distance from her and bear authoritarian attitudes. The fact that there is merely one-year-old difference between her and the woman principal only convinced her more that the principals should treat her (a teacher) with more discretion. However, it is obvious that she did not want to say anything against her principal though she disapprove her behaviours. In both cases, teachers' preference for keeping distance from principals - the symbol of authority and power - is clear. It points to a specific obstacle for women principals when they try to lead staff of the same sex and similar age, whilst not having as much authority as their men counterparts.

She is quite friendly to teachers. She also cares about teachers quite a lot. Because there are more than 300 teachers in our school and she is also very busy herself, it is impossible for her to care about you and care about other stuff everyday. Once I

had a car accident, middle managers and teachers in my offices knew about it and they informed the principal. The principal was very nervous and she sent a middle manager to come to see me immediately. Initially, she planned to come herself, but she was very busy with a meeting. She sent the middle manager of Counselling and Guidance to come to see me immediately. The middle manager came to see me and had to report to the principal about my condition immediately after she visited me. I have been in this school for more than 2 years and I hardly talk to or chat with the principal face to face. Never. However, when something happened to me, she sent the middle manager to care about me. I feel that she is a good person and she cares about teachers. (T1, F, School 8)

The teacher above does not have much chance to interact with the principal, but she does not complain about the lack of interaction. Instead, she took the distance for granted and was very touched when she had an accident and the principal sent a middle manager to see her. She does not think it is necessary to get closer to the principal on normal or even crisis occasions.

The above conversations show that teachers generally have a preference of keeping a distance with the principal, which possibly resulted of their being accustomed to have distant and authoritarian principals who leave teachers to themselves.

8.3.2 The greater concern with character and relationship, than effecting changes and getting things done

Many problems that principals in Taiwan encounter are in the areas of interpersonal relationships, especially those involving other staff. They see staff's resistance to new ideas and to legislative changes as posing a significant problem. On the other hand, they worry about their skills in handling them.

I would argue that the professional expertise of the principals in reality does not directly affect teachers' opinion of them. Since a feature of Chinese leadership is that what people look at is the character of the leaders, rather than their performance at work, my research found that people evaluated their principals mainly through what they thought of their character rather than what the principals actually do.

Many people believe that women are so eager to get things done that they miss the importance of building up good relationships with teachers. W1 is a junior principal. For her, things are fairly clear as teachers are civil servants and they should act according to the regulations. I found that she irritated teachers a great deal by reminding people of their responsibility.

She is a bit... more... tyrannical. (lower her voice). [Were her requests reasonable?] Everything she says makes sense. The thing is that you do not do everything exactly according to the laws. If you were so strict, teachers would not feel anything for the school. This is quite important when we do things. (T2, F, School 1)

In Chinese society, if one keeps talking about regulations and laws, it upsets people. Most teachers agree there is nothing wrong about what W1 demands. It just the way she puts it or the way she handled them that annoys them. The kind of principals desired by Taiwanese teachers is someone very supportive: someone who can be on their side when parents or the council representatives put pressure on them.

Our principal pays attention to all dimension of school management. He is a very polite person. Therefore, from an administrative perspective, he manages in a very caring way. He would not stick to certain rules. (S1, M, School 9)

This interviewee associated politeness with caring.

He is very confident. His EQ (emotional intelligence quotient) is very high. He gets along well with teachers, middle managers and manual workers. He talks everything through with them. He can have a cigarette with any of them or have a drink with them after work. He does not put on airs. [In that case, can he manage them well?] Actually, I do not think you have to worry about this. If you were in that context with him standing on the stage, you would know that he is the head after all. Personally, I feel that even if you get along well with the subordinates, it does not necessarily mean that they will lose respect for you. To me, this is something I have to learn. (...) He can do this. It's not easy. He would get into the point quickly. He has good memory. This is his specialty. I feel that he treats teachers in a democratic way. The existing regulations are not something you have to strictly stick to. He respects teachers' professional autonomy a lot. (S1, M, School 11)

People expect a similar kind of caring from women principals, or probably even more. On a rare occasion, S1 spoke highly of the woman principal in his school. However, according to him, her popularity was gained through her encouragement towards teachers instead of putting demands on teachers. Thus, teachers felt that she 'cared' about them.

She doesn't put demands on teachers. She only encourages them. Actually, both the principal and middle managers in this school are very polite to teachers. (...) Her educational belief is very good. It's very rare. She only gives positive encouragement to teachers. You would feel that she cares about teachers and students' opinions. (S1, M, School 5)

However, if many people believe that women just focus on getting things done, rather than on building up good relationships with teachers, we can see that the emphasis on harmony and the preference for the non-interfering attitudes of traditional principals will put women principals into a very disadvantaged situation.

The principal is very easy-going. He doesn't demand things from teachers in the

way we usually think. Therefore, we all respect him a lot. (...) The communication is ok. However, he is always upset that the number of classes gets reduced wherever he goes. (T1, M, School 11) – Chair of Teacher Association

One man principal above is so 'easy-going', parents do not send their children to his school. However, he carries enough authority for his 'easy-goingness' to become an advantage instead of a disadvantage.

I try to understand others. I am happy with an ordinary and plain life. I do not feel that I need to achieve certain things. People rarely complain about me when I leave a school. Kinder people may say: 'The principal is very nice.' Others say: 'Mr. Nice, so so'. (M3, School 11)

M3 was well aware that he did not need to 'achieve certain things' to be recognized, and what people are likely to comment about him. Nevertheless, there is no denying that he was a very popular principal among staff and his inactiveness does not seem tarnish his principalship at all. In what Alvesson & Billing (1997: 138) describe as masculine ethics, it is not surprising that women are not deemed good leaders. Teachers in this study were more relationship rather than task-oriented, so it is no wonder that women appeared not to fit into the (masculine) school culture.

8.3.3 The preference for rational (men) rather than emotional (women) principals

My study shows that women principals are more likely to show their emotions and feelings to their colleagues at schools than men. However, school staff rarely respond well if principals became emotional at work.

Some Western feminist writers have mentioned women managers' deep awareness of 'loneliness at the top', of their isolation and of the mismatch between their roles as managers and as women (Shakeshaft, 1987:172; De Lyon & Migniuolo, 1989:53; McMullan, 1993:70). Some Taiwanese women principals also mentioned loneliness. However, for them to raise the issue with staff would not be deemed appropriate, and talking about it does in fact usually cause further problems rather than improving the situation.

I have a feeling... I do not know. (...) I feel teachers tend to be kind of alienated with the principal. To a lesser extent with the middle managers. Recently, someone who is close to her told us that she (the principal) feels that she has no friends. (The principal feels this way?) Yes, yes. She has no friends. I do not know. (...) The principals I've worked with before, nobody ever told me who were their friends and who were not. There are different definitions about friends. (...) She said the principal has no friends; but we are all colleagues, not friends. I do not know if it means that she has a strong sense of alienation. [Why did the person mention this?] To get us to care about her (the principal). To see if we can be her friends. But you need to have mutual agreement to be friends, right? (laughing) Of course, we can care about her from our side. Temporarily. (T2, M, School 4) Previous Chair of Teacher Association

Though men and women principals can be equally lonely in their positions, women seem to speak about it more openly. The man teacher above was not comfortable that the woman principal in his school expressed her need for an informal relationship (friendship) with teachers. For him, she was not supposed to talk like that because they were 'colleagues, not friends'.

After the experience of working with three women principals, my biggest discovery is that they are all full of emotion. Men principals are more work-oriented. (S1, M,

School 8)

As Marshall (1984) suggests, 'women tend to experience the world initially through their feelings, rather than through predetermined concepts and classifications' (p.29). The above middle manager also mentioned that women principals are 'full of emotion'. He tried not to make any judgment, but nevertheless showed his preference for 'rationality' over 'emotionality'. Another woman principal tried to stick to being a woman as well as being a principal. She tried to be true to herself (to remain childlike and direct), and she also tried to compromise with a man manager in the school by offering him the status of a 'protector'.

Before I came, they (the staff) rejected having a woman principal very much. They had very negative traditional concepts about women principals. On the other hand, students were very curious. They saw me wearing long hair. (...) I am quite childlike. [You would express your feeling to students?] Yes yes, I'd tell them why I am unhappy about them. I don't let students guess...He (a man middle manager) came to protect me. He told people that that was the reason he came. I always say: the principal takes care of the middle manager, the middle manager protects the principal. (W2)

Thus, a possible obstacle becomes a help. Marshall (1984: 163) talks of using one's femininity as 'playing the dumb blond so that others would offer assistance, trading on sexual attractiveness and flattering male vanity.'

Generally speaking, some women principals nag a lot. They are too strict and you feel they are ruthless and cold. But our principal is not like this. (...) We do not feel that she is very sarcastic. Sometimes, we feel she is a bit narcissistic. Because she is young. She is very young. So she praises herself a lot. Then she says how others (outsiders) praise her. [Do others praise her appearance or her ability?] (They say) she looks so young. Apart from this, they say she performs really well. Both.

Anyway, she is very different from other principals I used to work with. Before, the principals were all men and they were like mandarins. [They kept some distance with people?] Yes. I do my job; you do your job. (...) She talks a lot about these things. Sometimes, when I hear them...[I think] Apart from your appearance which is your own, the success of things is usually contributed to by many people. (T1, F, School 2)

The interviewee above described her uneasiness with a very 'un-traditional' woman principal who talked about unconventional subjects with them and did not give teachers enough credit.

Compared with women principals, who were made only too aware of their positions, men principals seemed a lot more relaxed and calm. People therefore also felt more comfortable with them.

There are lots of informal relationships between the principal and teachers. He gives you the feeling that he is very kind. He keeps silent about many things. He is probably quite experienced. He would not jump to conclusions. He would consider the standpoints of both sides. (...) [Does he come to your office often?] No. We only say hello when we meet. He is not as serious as mandarins are. (T2, F, School 11)

Here, Blackmore (1999) indicates,

Hegemonic middle-class masculinities that embodied rationality and neutrality and predicted upon expertise thus supplanted the tradition-centred notion of paternalistic masculinity in which authority was primarily derived from being the family patriarch. (p. 29)

The kind of masculine image of school principalship in Taiwan is also similar to what Sinclair (1998) calls 'heroic leadership', which persists in Australian business culture. She suggests our attachment to particular images of leadership lies in our earliest

experience, for instance, in our interactions with fathers, mothers and our early experiences with institutions and social structures.

Moreover, seniority helped. It gave them a kind of confidence and ease that comes with experience and age. Hearn (1994) considers that in the social patriarchal system, the 'father figure' remains a strong mould of leadership. Therefore, charisma also becomes a key quality owned by 'the great and the good'. Consequently 'leadership may be seen as part of rational-legal authority within bureaucratic organizations, typically inhabited by male bureaucrats (Hearn, 1994:196).

My discussions with interviewees confirmed that people perceived most men principals as mandarins, who set the general direction only. They were not very visible, and usually stayed in their office. Because staff did not know what these principals did, they did not get negative criticism. They were seen as naturally calm and stable, which gave them authority as leaders. But some men can and do show their emotions as school leaders in Taiwan as (*S2, M, School 10*) showed in Section 6.2.2 about his frustration to be a manager, and it may be that as Alvesson & Billing (1997: 135) suggest, 'emotions are increasingly seen as significant in organisational practice as meaning, involvement and action to some extent replace rationality, cold calculation and separation of decision and execution.'

My research shows that women leaders showing emotion is equivalent with breaking down in tears (W3), telling others that they need friends (W4), or being open about their feelings directly (W6). These seemed to make some staff uncomfortable (see Section 7.3) and further prevented women from being accepted as legitimate school leaders since they

appeared irrational.

After the experience of working with three women principals, my biggest discovery is that they are all full of emotion. Men principals are more work-oriented. (S1, M, School 8)

Men who show emotions do so in a more acceptable, mild, task-oriented manner. Dillabough (1999) points out that many feminist critiques of women's social positioning in education indicate the part played by the rhetoric of 'rationality' in marginalizing women teachers (and girls). In their book *Democracy in the Kitchen*, Walkerdine and Lucey (1989) also argued that women's political identities had been constructed against, and in subordination to, male theories of the rational individual. Blackmore (1989) suggests that dominant masculinism is embedded in leadership models, theories and epistemologies, with particular emphasis on how the notions of rationality, abstract morality and competitive individualism exclude women. These studies explain people's preference of working with men principals in Taiwan as showing emotion and feelings are not seen as coterminous with good school leadership.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored whether people prefer to work with men or women and then has explained the reasons for their preference. Though interviewees explained differently why it was better for them to work with men or women, and their own gender or the opposite gender, the consensus was for men principals. The masculine school culture in Taiwan leads people to: (1) prefer to keep a distance from principals, (2) care more about

character and relationships than about getting things done, and (3) prefer rational (men) rather than emotional (women) principals. This puts women principals in a constantly disadvantaged position.

The study of Riehl & Lee (1996) finds that women leaders seem to have positive effects on women teachers, while men seem to be uncomfortable working for women. They explain this as: first, that men have little experience with women leaders; and second, that woman principals do not correspond to the bureaucratic model of leadership that teachers have come to expect. As women are less often distant managers than active participants in schools, their participatory management style may threaten the autonomy that teachers (especially men) have come to expect (p.892-3). Their study in many ways matches the findings of my research, where only women staff seem to show a stronger preference of working with men principals in Taiwan.

For women principals, Evetts (1996b, 167) suggests that:

These gender stereotypes, deriving from the sexual division of labour, come to constitute normative beliefs to which people tend to conform or are induced to conform. This is the culture power and force of sex-role stereotyping which results in the double-bind for women in management positions in schools and elsewhere.

Since the traditional models still strongly influence our values and offer standards against which to judge ourselves and others, women are often seen as 'inadequate, unpredictable or pushy' (Marshall, 1995:15). It is no wonder, then, that men feel uncomfortable working with women principals in Taiwan.

The particular power of patriarchal bureaucracy is usually in its neutral appearance, which makes it acceptable and difficult to challenge (Acker, 1990). While characteristics of 'aggressiveness, forcefulness, competitiveness and independence' have become widely accepted as the traits that made a good leader in public organizations (Blackmore, 1989), so women have to learn to play the 'rules of the game' (Marshall, 1995: 305), with one hand tied behind them, to be successful in Taiwan.

However, teachers have different preferences for leadership behaviours in men and women, and if a woman attempts to model her leadership on that of her male counterpart, problems are likely to arise (Johnson, 1986). This means that women principals in Taiwan who opt to play in the masculine way (tough and ambitious) seem to be seen as more (unacceptably) masculine than men. Women principals give the impression of being tough and wanting to control everything, while men principals, with established authority, are seen as relaxed and doing relatively little.

Chapter 9: Women principals in contemporary Taiwan: the impacts of culture and politics

This discussion is based on the findings of the three previous chapters. I intend to argue that Confucianism and the political situation (including gender politics) in Taiwan influenced the state agencies and individuals to form a particular kind of leader who places emphasis on charisma and respect for social order, rather than on capability in school leadership. Moreover, this context has generated an educational reform which is led by the elite, but the restructuring of power which involves central and local governments, principals, school managers, teachers, and parents creates a confusing situation on the ground, as well as creating difficulties for women.

It seems that women and men principals are constructed into two different categories by school staff and by themselves. Women are assigned to be the agents of change, and thus risk being exploited as those at the grassroots are not fully prepared for changes which the women principals do not carry enough legitimacy to enforce. However, women managers need to be aware that the democratisation of political and educational spheres is offering them great opportunities to change the masculine culture in Taiwan.

9.1 The influence of Confucianism and politics on education

9.1.1 Expectations of school leaders -- being a Chinese 'mandarin/gentleman' [sic]

Confucius considered that the purpose of being educated to be a 'gentleman' [sic] was to become a civil servant. This could only apply to men. Confucianism also proposes a strong connection between the family and government (see Section 2.3). The concept of the family is fundamental and affects school culture and the image of the school principal. Principals very often are described as 'great parents' and this is seen as praiseworthy, but it has different connotations for men and women principals (Section 7.2.1). In many ways, principals should act as parents telling their staff what is in their best interests, and staff should obey. However, the 'mother' figure of school principal does not match the concept of 'gentleman': and as suggested in Section 8.2, school staff prefer principals who can maintain their distance within this hierarchical structure. The distant 'mandarin/gentleman' model is contradicted by the 'mother' figure with which women principals tend to be associated, but is closer to a 'serious father' figure.

As mentioned in Section 2.2.2, educational administration in Taiwan has been very centralized and bureaucratic because of the patriarchal nature of Chinese culture. The redundancy of the administrative system which resulted from the split with the mainland in 1949 further contributed to this centralisation. This, together with the 'gentleman' image, makes the professional expertise of principals in Taiwan relatively unimportant (Section 8.2). The ignorance around what professional expertise is and what it can

achieve in school leadership forms another obstacle for women principals in Taiwan. Instead of focusing on their professional expertise, school principals are talked about more often in relation to their high morality. As Confucius believed that the morality of individuals is the foundation for building the ideal society, so a gentleman should use his morality rather than the law to influence people. Consequently, people expect their principals to be a role model in every aspect of his or her life, though it is likely that both morality and role modeling are mainly paid lip-service rather than involving in any specific demands, given the lack of interaction and understanding between principals and teachers.

As maintaining harmony with people is considered very important (see Section 2.3.1), this affects people's perception of a good leader. Women are seen as disruptive of the harmony: the interviewees in my research suggested that women principals seem to be more concerned with getting things done than men principals who are (seen as) better at keeping good relationships with people because they make fewer demands. Consequently, this research shows that the morale of people working for women principals is lower (Section 8.2.1).

The image of school principals in Taiwan is thus usually that of a non-aggressive father figure which women have difficulty fitting into, and a 'rational' male school principal is preferred over an 'emotional' woman (Section 8.3.3). Moreover, this kind of ethically-based concept of leadership prevents ambitious women from pursuing their career actively, as promotion is usually initiated by the support and encouragement of their superiors, who prefer men. So even though the traditional image of the leader in

Chinese society is also quite different from the West, cultural expectations still pose obstacles for women.

Clark and Clark (2000:74) mention three other aspects of Chinese Confucian culture which appear vital to an understanding of the evolving political status of women in Taiwan:

- first, the culture tends to be patriarchal, in the sense that women hold a subordinate and devalued status;
- second, education is highly valued as the central basis for social and political mobility;
- and third, social, economic and political life is organized around informal networks based on kinship and other types of personal relations (*quanxi*). Such networks have been and still are extremely important in Taiwan.

I found all these aspects still relevant to women principals. Though women hold a subordinate status, their education assures that they move upward. At the same time, their lack of work-based networks (see Section 7.1.1) also poses great problems for them.

9.1.2 Consequence of political democratisation

The second issue that affects women principals in Taiwan is the lack of clear definition of school leadership. This is a result of the political requirement to generate top-down democratisation, led by the elite. The restructuring of the school policy-making mechanism has caused confusion among school principals in Taiwan about their role in school leadership and management, but for men principals, whose authority can be more easily accepted, this change causes less turmoil. Women principals are more seriously

affected however as the change has seriously undermined their autonomy and ability to lead schools.

Top-down democratisation

An educational reform which pursues democracy is not always necessarily democratic in its process. This is the case in Taiwan, especially as the purpose of its educational reform is to meet political aspirations. As education is irrevocably linked to politics (Carr and Hartnett, 1996:15), when the dominant political ideology changes, education also changes. I found the process of political democratisation resembled the democratisation of educational management. When the Taiwanese started to question their identity, there were demands for school education to be readjusted and relocated in an elite-led model which reflects its political transition.

In her study of the educational policies of secondary education in Taiwan after the abolition of martial law from 1987- 1997, Tseng (1998) mentions two major reforms: a proposal for 12-years of compulsory education (1989), and an attempt to abolish the entrance examination for senior high school, using instead students' 3-year academic performance in junior high school (1990). The purpose of these reforms was to normalise secondary education and eliminate 'super' junior high schools, in order to have a balanced education for all students. However, according to Tseng (1998), the Ministry of Education was given the order to push these reforms forward by the Executive Yuan, and the Ministry itself was not convinced that the reforms were needed. It did not carry them forward for long because of resistance from below.

Tseng (1998) thus indicates that, despite a general emphasise on democracy, the government still has authoritarian attitudes when planning and implementing its educational policies. Moreover, she sees the outcomes of most educational policies as the result of compromises between the government, legislators and various interests groups, based on political purposes and concerns.

An incident which happened in May 2002 illustrates this kind of situation. Forty-six legislators in Taiwan questioned the government about the new multi-entries scheme for colleges and universities, which was supposed to replace the previous examination-based approach. Most surveys conducted around that time showed that 70 to 80 percent of parents and the general public in Taiwan did not place much trust in the new scheme. Nevertheless, the Minister of Education insisted that abolishing the former single-examination based system was the right thing to do, and he threatened to quit if the old system, which had lasted for thousands of years, was resumed (*The China Times*, May 23rd, 25th, and 27th, 2002). If democracy means the power of decision-making is shared by the majority, then this incident shows how the democratisation of education is overshadowed by the elite leadership.

In Taiwan, school principals appear at present to support educational reform – in particular democratic reform - strongly, and more so than teachers (as shown in Section 2:4). The reason top-down reform can be easily accepted by principals is because superiors' opinions are usually highly valued in Chinese culture. The accounts given by interviewees in Section 6.2 about how they became managers and principals, show that persuasion and encouragement from their superiors (including officials in local

government) was one of the main factors. Since principals' recruitment is managed by the education authority, it is not surprising that they are quick to comply with the authority's requests for reform. However, the actual way in which reform policies are applied depends on each principal's individual understanding of what the reform is supposed to be.

There are some deeply gendered implications here. This elite-led model has left women principals feeling frustrated as they have little idea of what they would like to achieve. As Blackmore (1999) points out, being positioned as a middle manager puts school principals in an awkward situation.

The democratization of line management is dependent upon a notion of professional expertise (implying authority and discretionary power), but the professionalization and democratization of the upper levels of management does not permeate down to the lower level workers. Thus middle managers (such as school principals) are ambiguously positioned in this democratic fiction (p.37).

The situation is easier for men, who do not try to implement the reforms and who are less troubled by what these should be.

Ill-defined principalship

Because of the implementation of democracy and rapid social and political change in Taiwan, centralised educational policies were questioned and challenged, and power was decentralized (see Section 2.2.2), so that school managers and local governments are able to better cope with the particular needs of individual schools (Hsieh, et al, 1999:45).

But for women, school leadership seems a confusing activity because their cultural and educational background and their relationship with officials and with local education authorities seems to work against these reforms. As mentioned in Section 6.1, even though many principals recognize principals should be practicing democracy, they perceive principalship as a position with little power and so they are confused about what they are able to achieve.

In his study of educational managers in developing Asia, Chapman (2000) argues that the interaction of quality improvement and decentralization poses significant new challenges for the administration of education systems across Asia, and that the group which is hardest hit and least prepared for these pressures is the school headmaster [sic]. He considers that 'one by-product of decentralization is the expectation that headmasters [sic] will play a greater role in instructional supervision, community relations, and school management, activities for which they have never been trained' (p.294-5). He further indicates that 'decentralization places quite different demands on managers at all levels - at the top, because they have to relinquish authority, and at the local level, because they have to assume greater authority and responsibility'. Shifting decision-making back to the community may in fact stifle educational reforms as communities tend to be conservative (p. 295-6).

Law (2002) further points out that after the Teachers Law was enacted in Taiwan in 1995, power was returned from the government directly to teachers (rather than to schools) by broadening their participation and enhancing their power in decision-making bodies at various levels (see Section 2.2). Thus, the power of education officials and school

principals is considerably reduced, as compared with their almost absolute authority before the late 1980s.

It is almost unique in the world that school teachers are given legal rights to select their principals, which demonstrates an extreme form of school-based management in which power is devolved from the government to teachers directly, rather than through the school as an entity. Teachers are empowered but principals are disempowered; this is a win-lose situation. (Law, 2002: 77)

Principals not only lost power to select personnel to teachers, they can also be 'demoted' to the status of ordinary teachers if they fail to gain the support of teachers and parents. Women principals in particular feel powerless. They do not carry the same authority as men and the new situation has left them vulnerable and confused, since they feel they still need to take the ultimate responsibility for decisions jointly made by school members.

The involvement of parents and teachers (see Section 2.2) makes the situation still more complicated and still less clear. Even though principals who have been selected may share the same vision as the government (Section 6.3.1), my findings suggest that teachers in Taiwan do not necessarily have the same values as their principals and seem to be less prepared for reform (Section 6.3). Teachers may not appreciate all their newly found autonomy as it means more work for them. They thus tend to show a dislike for working with women principals because they are more active instigators of changes (see Chapter 8). Thus, women principals in Taiwan become the scapegoats of the reforms.

This situation echoes Ginnis and Trafford's finding (1995) about head teachers facing the challenge of democracy in a grammar school in England. Some of the internal obstacles

they found were: contradictions in a head's attempts to impose democracy; democracy taking too much time and effort; and many teachers' lives being simpler if head teachers make decisions, leaving them to subvert and complain later. For junior high school teachers in Taiwan who have good working conditions, students' academic achievement is at the top of the agenda. This tends to make teachers disinterested in change, and they have a reluctant attitudes towards reforms associated with democratisation.

As I have argued, democratisation in schools in Taiwan contribute greatly to the government's efforts. However, the measures of the educational reform have been too radical for principals and these projects have been put into practice before school managers and most teachers are ready. Although it seems that the democratic reform of school administration is largely on the right track, it is not without problems. In particular, my research shows that women principals have been blamed for the consequences of educational reform (see Chapter 7). In the next section, I shall illustrate how the change and reform in education affects women principals.

9.2 Women as agents of change – issues of legitimacy

In my research, I found that school staff are not ready for change, and they miss the 'autonomy' they enjoyed in the previous period. There are intrusions into their lives in the new era and they are restricted by the new system which wants to ensure that everyone 'plays the game'. Women principals, who are seen as pushing reforms forward most forcefully are faced with a paradox in the democratisation of school, as is shown in the following conversation.

I feel this principal is more democratic. But she talks a lot in the meetings, endless talking. Therefore, we are very afraid of meetings. Afraid of what? Afraid that we have to sit for a long time. This is probably not because of her. For example, we set up Teacher Appeal Senate recently. This is not the principal's idea. It is just the trend. She is young so she is more democratic. If you asked me about the feature of the school, it is that our meetings tend to last for a long time. Everyone has so much to say. (...) People speak when they have opinions on things. (laughing) Sometimes, they talk too much. (T3, F, School 4)

As a whole, women principals... most people would feel men middle managers also have some difficulties. But (women) tend to have long meetings and frequent meetings. I've had a woman superior (principal) (...) We had a meeting from 9 am. to 3 p.m. We did not even have lunch. [Was it a individual case?] ... Yes. But generally speaking, most women principals I've known spend a longer time in meetings than men principals. (S2, M, School 5)

Even though women principals are seen as more 'democratic', there is not as much excitement as staff expected. On the contrary, some staff do not appreciate the changes as school policy-making procedures can be less 'effective' and more demanding than before. It is one thing to talk about the advantages of democracy, but quite another when it comes to apply it. Even if the school staff are convinced and ready, they still need to defend themselves when facing parents and the community.

Our school is very democratic and open. We are ahead of others in terms of educational reform. (...) For example, we are less strict about children's clothes and hairstyles. But it's difficult to say if it is a good thing or bad thing. Children love the school very much. But parents may disapprove and think the school is getting worse. (S2, M, School 4)

New paradoxes thus emerge for women teachers and leaders. The popular discourse of women's styles of leadership – perceived to be more democratic,

nurturant, supportive and collegial – gain credibility in this context. Women traditionally depicted as possessing good people management skills, are seen to be an untapped source of leadership to be exploited. Yet women principals are also located by new discourses about women's irrationality and lack of 'natural' authority. (Blackmore, 1999: 38)

Furthermore, the impact of women principals is difficult to identify as various reforms were introduced at the same time as many women principals were appointed. The principals who are selected by the government and the ways in which they manage schools also varies from previously. Many argue that women principals have different styles but that this is less a gender issue than one of policies being different now. However, it is obvious that women are blamed more than men for what happens in schools in Taiwan.

When Powney (1997) explores issues about the exploitation and patronage of women, she argues that women are allowed to rise, but at a cost. This is 'external gratitude from the recipient who is rarely allowed to surpass the patron's status' (1997:58).

Although more women are encouraged to take up principalship, my research findings show that women in my research are less likely to delegate, and they act in a tough way. This appears to contradict the finding in the West that women are more inclined to be transformational and democratic leaders than men are (Rosener, 1990). However, since gender awareness in Taiwan only developed recently, these images of women principals in Taiwan seem to match the 1970s Western perception that women tried to act like men in order to be accepted. Given the cultural context, men principals may appear to be kinder or nicer.

There is no commitment to a feminist (women's) agenda among the Taiwanese women principals interviewed. Many of them are committed to fulfilling their domestic role as mothers and wives as fully as possible. Most Taiwanese women do not have the same 'feminist awareness' as women in the West, by which I do not mean that they necessarily recognise themselves as feminists, but more the degree to which they reject or accept stereotypes of men's and women's roles and duties in society. They would have more difficulty identifying their problems as resulting from gender. They certainly cannot be identified as 'femocrats', or, in Kenway and Blackmore's terms as 'gender workers' (Blackmore and Kenway, 1988). Even if they do realise that their performances are judged through a gendered lens, women in Taiwan still try to achieve what they believe to be right (Chapter 7).

What might appear through a Western analysis as gender differences can, in the Taiwanese context, be explained by the effects of the general change. While gender is an important factor, it is important not to attribute too much to it. What might look like an issue of gender is more an issue of women principals emerging at the same time as other far-reaching changes. Different requirements are now imposed on all new principals and affect their action and judgment. The reason these effects appear most obviously with women principals is not because of what they bring to the job but because they are the mostly newly recruited and are consistently under the spotlight.

As Davies (1990) argues,

..many of the problems of school management are not reducible to individual

tensions or sub-cultural value clashes within the institution: they relate instead to wider dilemmas within the political formation, which are reproduced in terms of incompatible ideologies at the school level. (p.2)

To sum up, the Confucian academic-based tradition and the KMT's democratisation policies have helped to promote women's status, but at the same time they have also produced another patriarchal form of oppression that limits women principals' career performance and achievement.

...the gender regime of the school is not simply a reflection of the gender order of society, but, rather, that schools participate in the production of gender relations in ways which make for their own specificity and which, at the same time, contribute to and are a result of wider social patterns. (Kenway et al:1994:)

Thus, although there has been an increase in the number of women principals in Taiwan, people seem to be trying to practise democracy within a limited space in the hierarchical system. And many of them also try to bring in the element of transformational leadership that is suppose to be most effective at a time of change as they are concerned about building vision, values, communication and empowerment. Cai's study (2000) of 900 teachers in Taiwan shows that women principals are perceived as exercising a significantly higher degree of transformational leadership than men in Taiwan. At the same time, some Taiwanese scholars (Zhang, 1997; Zhang 1998) argue that as the campus is going through rapid democratisation in Taiwan, the concepts and approaches of transformational leadership suits better the need of Taiwan at this particular period. Nevertheless, women principals in general are not appreciated for the efforts they have made.

Cheng (1997) indicates that Asian American men reject hegemonic, white, macho masculinity and prefer a quieter, gentler and less assuming Confucian masculinity. We can see that a new kind of masculinity is formed, and continues to oppress women principals in Taiwan. Women principals encounter resistance for being women, as they do not fit into the image of 'mandarins', and they are also less popular with those whom they manage. Staff care more about character rather than effecting changes and getting things done; and prefer to keep their distance from their principals. This fits men's relationship-oriented style rather than women's general task-oriented approach.

9.3 The future of women principals in Taiwan

This thesis has elaborated at some length the processes through which the traditional expectations of Chinese leaders and the elite-led democratisation of school in Taiwan have resulted in women principals having difficulty fitting in as leaders. However, democratisation in the political and educational spheres does also currently offer women great opportunities to change the situation.

Yeatman (1990), who supports the potential for 'femocrat'-driven change in Australia, has argued that the current context provides considerable opportunities for feminist managers (p. 200). Ozga and Deem's (2000) research on women managers in UK higher and further education sectors also found that almost all interviewees were aware of their role as agents of cultural change, and many felt they could indeed take up the opportunities rather than leaving them to men. Many also felt that it was their responsibility to guide change towards open, collaborative and collegial forms:

The women in our research are working within discourses of managerialism that are designed to promote change for particular purposes. Feminist women's ideas about the most appropriate forms of change, and their emphasis on equity, trust, negotiation and collaboration - all of which are strongly evidenced in the interviews - are not necessarily shared by their male colleagues, nor are they part of the managerialist discourse, though it may invoke them as rhetoric. ... Thus our women managers find themselves challenging deeply held ideas and assumptions that may not have a directly gendered nature but that are filtered through the gendered relations of work. It is clear that many of the women interviewed, though not all, found that their gender identities were an issue in the way their performances were judged, particularly if their image was not conventionally feminine (Ozga and Deem, 2000: 146).

Even if the 'mother' figure of principal is positioned differently in Taiwanese schools at present, it does not mean that it can never be accepted. Feminist philosophers such as Noddings (1984) and Gilligan (1982) were already discussing feminist ethics, with their emphasis on care rather than rights or justice, 20 years ago. Noddings (1984) supports a movement toward 'deprofessionalizing' education in order to promote caring in education. For her, deprofessionalization

...does not mean a reduction of emphasis on quality, nor a loss of pride and distinction. It means, rather, an attempt to eliminate the special language that separates us from other educators in the community (especially parents), a reduction in the narrow specialization that carries with it reduced contact with individual children, and an increase in the spirit of caring – that spirit that many refer to as “the maternal attitude” (p.197).

I found something similar with the women principals I interviewed in Taiwan. They are not trying to separate their role as professional leaders of teachers from that of caring mother figures for students. Most of them do not see any contradiction, although some

teachers became uncomfortable when they realised that their students have better relationships with the principals than with themselves (see Chapter 7).

Li (2000) proposes that the Confucian concept of '*jen*' (benevolence) and the feminist ethics of care actually have many things in common. They should therefore be able to support each other. He (2000:38) further argues that that for many, '*jen* is primarily a male or manly characteristic.' Yet its ethics have a care-perspective, not a rights-perspective. If this is the case, it can be probably be assumed that the promotion of care in school leadership in Taiwan will not be so difficult, as it is partly rooted in the culture.

The difference between men and women principals should not be ignored but rather should be treated seriously. Elshtein argues (1981, 1992) that women are different by the very nature of their positions within the private sphere (cited from Arnot & Dillabough, 1999:171). Ashburner (1994) also indicates that it is important to acknowledge the differences between men and women as managers and to change the definition of management, both to accommodate more women, but also to increase organizational flexibility by broadening the predominant value system. Martin (1993: 275) similarly points out a need 'to transform the corporation from a context that favors men and male-associated norms and practices to one that (also) values women and women-associated norms and practices.'

Even if the women principals in my research are relatively traditional in terms of their domestic role and do not necessarily see themselves as feminists, they still have an agenda of their own at work and try to bring change into their schools. Considering the

rapid political and social change happening in Taiwan, it is too early to say how things may turn out: that the process and the final outcomes of school democratisation remain to be seen. But there are grounds for cautious optimism.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

The evidence presented in this thesis indicates that men and women principals in Taiwan have very different leadership experiences from those in the West, due to the Confucian culture and the bureaucratic and until recently militarized, educational system. However, political democratisation and women's entry into the labour market have added further complexity to leadership styles of principals in Taiwan. My findings suggest that women principals in Taiwan have become the agents of change, but without having the legitimacy to bring about that change and at personal cost.

In order to reach a thorough understanding of school leadership in Taiwan, I drew upon literature relating to Confucianism especially that which related to women; research on the history of the Taiwanese educational system and educational leadership; on the growth and status of the teaching profession; and on changes in women's position and the progress of the women's movement in Taiwan. The particular focus on the Confucian context was not anticipated at the start of the research but emerged from the data that women principals (or women who aspire to be principals or managers) face a particular kind of challenge in Taiwan, because of traditional beliefs as to what constitutes 'leadership'. These promote the belief that women cannot be good leaders. It is also important to understand Confucian beliefs because they affect Taiwanese people's attitudes and values in general.

The influence of the political situation of Taiwan and China upon Taiwan's educational policies also emerged and was equally significant. When we examine the history of

Taiwan, we find that both the government and the people have a strong aspiration for democracy, due to the past history of the country. Consequently, democratisation is a major theme in this thesis. However, the compatibility of Confucianism and democratisation is in question. Some aspects of Confucianism - such as loyalty, elite leadership and the preference for order - seem to go against democratic principles.

The literature on women and leadership and management theories in the USA, UK, New Zealand, and Australia was reviewed in Chapter Four. Discussion of school leadership had moved from a scientific and positivist position to one which gives greater respect to concerns about the construction of gender and the importance of values in educational organizations. I distinguished between the concepts of 'leadership' and 'management' in order to justify why 'leadership' is more appropriate in the discussion of school organisations in Taiwan. I also argued that 'transformational' leadership may well describe the direction of school reforms in Taiwan, and I presented the characteristics of transformational leadership and its strength and weakness, taking gender into account.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight report the findings of the research. Interviewees, whether principals, middle managers or teachers, saw principalship as a position with little power, as the nature of principalship has been changed by democratisation. Many principals were confused about their role. Middle managers' vision for their schools was not very different from that of principals, probably because of the way both are selected and trained. They generally support democratisation. However, the vision of teachers can be very different, as their work is very different from that of a school manager (including a principal). I found that this difference usually causes a great deal of conflict between

principals and teachers, in terms of conflict of vision, and between the managers' aspiration to change and create democracy on the one hand, and Confucian values which emphasis harmonious relationships on the other.

Chapter Seven discussed staff's perception of the school leadership of men and women respectively. It started by exploring how school staff at different levels interact or communicate with principals. School managers are usually very supportive, as they believe that their position demands loyalty. But teachers usually knew little about the work of principals, due to the bureaucratic system, and they did not like what they saw as interference. The interviewees saw women managers as feeling responsible for the whole organisation, while they saw men as staying within their jobs and leaving teachers to get on by themselves in the classroom. Many interviewees saw women principals as more active and more willing to engage in change; but at the same time, as concentrating too much on detail, and intruding on teachers. The latter could now resist through the new government-introduced formal organizations within each school.

When staff were asked if they preferred to work with men or women principals, men principals emerged as much more popular. There was little difference in the answers given by men or women subordinates, but not one man preferred working with a woman principal. Women principals were less popular because people cared more about a principal's character than about his or her ability to effect change and to get things done, and women could not fit the masculine character of 'a good principal'. People prefer to maintain a distance from their principals, which is at odds with women principals' tendency of concerning with detail. Women principals were also seen as wanting to be in

charge of everything and to make changes, while men are seen as rational mandarins of the traditional kind. Women principals in Taiwan were thus acting as the main agents of change within the school system, but they risk being unsuccessful and personally undermined as they do not carry enough legitimacy with staff at the grassroots. A new kind of masculinity is being formed and validated, which continues to oppress women. Women principals are oppressed for their efforts do not receive enough approval, though people in general acknowledge that they work harder.

In her study of gender, power and sexuality in business culture in Australia, Sinclair (1998) indicates that the different emphases in leadership style are formed according to existing cultures in different countries.

In international comparisons, Australians value individualism and masculinity, and are not as comfortable with hierarchy as some other, particularly Asian, societies. This translates into a leadership style which emphasises self-reliance and independence. (p. 46)

The leadership experiences of women school principals in Taiwan might therefore well be expected to differ from those in the West, including Australia, because of its very different cultural expectations of leadership styles. Although these women principals hold firm beliefs about their 'different' leadership styles from men's, the 'good manager' is again seen as 'male' or masculine', as Schein (1973, 1975) mentioned decades ago in the United States, and women principals in Taiwan continue to experience challenges at work which are different from those experienced by men principals, because of women's subordinate status in society generally and specifically because of the ideal [male] leader constructed by Confucianism. On the other hand, these challenges may bring women

more opportunities to change their work and working environment.

Like the concept of education, the concept of democracy is essentially contested in Taiwan as elsewhere and its history has been marked by political struggle and ideological conflict.

First, the concept of democracy is a matter of considerable intellectual – and indeed, political – contestation. Should it include or emphasize popular sovereignty, individual freedom, political participation, electoral competition, distributive equity, or mass welfare? In theory as well as practice, these desiderata stand in tension with each other. (Chan, 2000: 180)

James and Apple (1999:7) argue that ‘the meaning of democracy is just as ambiguous in our own times, and the rhetorical convenience of that ambiguity is more evident than ever.’ When people talk about democracy, they have very different things in mind.

However, many Taiwanese people may not yet see this ambiguity and complexity embedded in the term of ‘democracy’, thus they have too high expectations about the solutions of problems, and the achievements, that democracy can help to bring to the nation and schools at a relatively early stage of political democratisation. Since the late 1980s, people in Taiwan seem to see democracy as ‘a form of popular power’ – a question of gaining more access to political decision-making. Therefore, ‘democratic schools’ in Taiwan are supposed to be marked by a widespread participation in issues such as school policy-making, teacher recruitment, teacher associations and curriculum planning. Not only officials, principals, school managers, and teachers, but also students, parents, other members of the school and even local communities should be included. But while people

in Taiwan have high expectations of democracy, they do not have a clear understanding of its complexities. Thus, their ideas of democracy may remain superficial and merely formed rather than reflecting a deeper understanding that the foundations of democracy should be based not only on participation, but also in sufficient discussions, mutual respect and giving way to other people's beliefs if the majority vote that way. Without this, the application of democracy in a conservative system, like schooling in Taiwan, may well result in disappointment, as democracy does not always work in the ways expected or desired by individuals, and as an increasing number of people take part in policy-making in schools.

Above all, the particular interpretation of democracy in Taiwan, which has a lot to do with the more general politics, determines how democracy is exercised at school level. Democracy could mean a respect for others' opinions and being prepared for unexpected outcomes derived from the agreement of the majority. It can however easily be trapped by manipulation and compromise between different sources of power, rather than a joint effort and commitment from people who believe in it. This study of Taiwan shows how the rhetoric of democracy and the process of democratisation are affecting the development of school leadership - and reviving the old system. The procedures for principalship selection, the perceptions of leaders and managers, the school curriculum, relationships between teacher and student, and those between officials, principals, managers and teachers, and the interaction between school and community, are all being changed by the quest for democracy. But because there is a mismatch between the vision of the school principals and the values of their staff, and because in addition, women's ways of talking and leading are unfamiliar to teachers who are used to men principals, we

need to question whether women principals' leadership will result in democratic practices. The term 'democracy' may simply be being used rhetorically while men's (traditional) principalship continues to be the norm. A revised vision/set of values that can accommodate and encourage change is needed as well as changed stereotypes of men and women, if either democratisation or a major improvement in the position of women is to be achieved. .

Concluding reservations

There are some features which I would like to indicate as limitations on my research. First, because of the restriction on the length of my thesis and the need for providing contextual material, I have only sketched a general picture of gendered leadership in the current state of Taiwanese education, though I am aware that some further detailed analysis is needed.

Secondly, this research does not cover discussion at the macro level in terms of Taiwan's educational reform in relationship to global educational development. Driven by global economic competition, there has been a need for states to make their industry more productive, diversified and innovative. Education and training are regarded as crucial in this process, and a focus on education which directly serves the economy more, has become a major and controversial feature of educational changes in the West (e.g. Kenway & Epstein, 1996).

Furthermore, in British literature there is a stress on standards control and quality assurance in education and the role of agencies such as the TTA, Ofsted, and the use of

audit in 'new public management'. Whitty (2002) finds that the New Labour government in the UK has increased state regulation in education since the late 1990s, while (new) managerialism⁵⁷ is used to describe the concerns for customer-oriented ethos, accountability, efficiency and cost-effectiveness (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000).

In appearance, educational reform in Taiwan seems to go against the trend in the 'first world' and to be moving toward decentralisation and deregulation, as in the rest of Asia (Chapman, 2000). Cowen (1996) indicates that issues raised in the West in regard to post-modernity are often less significant in countries in East Asia.

The world which post-modernism reads is best read from the contemporary anxieties of Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. Post-modernism, in its comparative dimensions, is impressively parochial: it does not reflect or read the structural socioeconomic conditions, ideological projects, educational systems or self-society issues of identity in Japan, Taiwan or South Korea, still less, China (Cowen, 1996:165-166).

However, such is the force of the West that its educational developments will eventually have an impact on educational development in Taiwan. Even if 'democratisation' and decentralization of state education is currently highly valued in Taiwan by the educational authorities as well as the public, the educational reform is actually a top-down 'democratisation' driven by political agendas. These include in particular the need to negotiate with China and the West - primarily America - for its future.

⁵⁷ According to Oldroyd et al (1996) managerialism is the assumption that management is the solution to many organisational problems; often a pejorative term directed at those who see management as an end rather than means, particularly in the public funded services. (p. 42)

For Taiwanese teachers who are caught in this reform, even if they seem to be being given more autonomy and power in organising TAs, more freedom in curriculum planning and decision-making, and power over personnel, e.g. TASs, these reforms are actually imposed on teachers. They do not have much understanding about the direction and the purpose of the reforms, nor do they have much interest in taking up responsibilities that they did not have before. Thus, there are doubts around to the extent to which the practice of 'decentralization' and 'deregulation' of education in Taiwan actually reflect the democratic principle that the government claims. Teachers do not appear ready for the change initiated from the top.

An incident happened recently which reflects the confusion over the professional role of teachers and the government's patronized attitude over educational reform. In 2002, prompted by the government's moves to withhold the tax-free status of school teachers and to voice teachers' frustration over various educational reforms in recent years, the National Teacher's Association (NTA) mobilised its members to demand teachers' right to form unions because with tax paid, teachers should no longer be regarded as public employees but as labourers. The march, slated for national Teacher's Day, September 28, is the first one in Taiwan that is organized and attended by teachers. There were around 60,000 teachers, together with their supporters, joining the march and chanting slogans like 'solidarity!' 'dignity,' 'consultations!' and 'forming unions!' (China Post, September 28, 2002). Responding to this, both the President and the Minister of Education sent their blessing and wished the event 'success'. The President said the event is good for democracy and it will be an expression of the nation's new freedom. He also asked the public to keep an open mind because '[for teachers] to air their grievances by taking to the

streets, is an act demonstrating the freedom and diverse values of a democratic nation.’
(Taipei Times, September 28, 2002)

This suggests interesting possibilities for further analysing the material presented in this thesis in the light of the work on teachers de- or re-professionalisation as a key issue in educational reforms, as indicated by Sachs (2001) in Australia and Whitty (2002) in England and Wales. This is not however the main focus of this thesis.

A third limiting feature of this research is that it is focused on one northern city in Taiwan. Due to the cultural difference between north and south, and rural and urban divisions, on the island, my research is by no means able to represent a complete picture of school leadership in Taiwan. Another issue related to the sample is the seniority of the Taiwanese principals. I did not work with equal and certainly not proportional numbers of men and women principals in this research, as I intended to focus more on women principals. But as a consequence, since most men principals are senior, my interpretation of men principals is based on school staff's long-term experience of working with them. In contrast, most women principals interviewed reflect the reality in Taiwanese schools, and are quite junior and relatively new in their jobs. So in some ways the men and women in my sample are not strictly comparable.

The fourth issue is that political democratisation is changing every aspect of Taiwanese life, including school leadership, very quickly⁵⁸, and my research recorded a very particular moment in the late 1990s. Given the speed of political and education reforms in

⁵⁸ The KMT party that ruled Taiwan for decades has since split twice, between 1995 and 2000, and the first opposition party, Democratic Progressive Party, took power in 2000.

Taiwan, that is, the increasing emphasis on the nativist culture, the deregulation and decentralization of the school curriculum, principals' recruitment procedures, and student assessment, the role of school principals may already have changed or may change even more in the near future.

Finally I am aware that most women educational leaders in the West make a very conscious decision about their feminist leadership approach (e.g. Adler et al, 1993; Blackmore, 1999) and I am using this literature to discuss Taiwanese women principals who have much less commitment to a feminist or women's agenda. Most do not see themselves as feminists and many of them try to fulfill their domestic role as mothers and wives as conventionally well as possible. However, as gender education has gradually become a central theme at all levels of formal education in Taiwan too (see page 96), it will be important to research the agenda of feminist principals as they emerge in Taiwan in a few years time.

Dimmock and Walker (2000) argue that globalisation makes the recognition of societal culture and cross-cultural similarities and differences more, not less, important in the 21st century. Thus, the inclusion of societal culture as a factor in investigating leadership is essential. In order to make sense of the role of school principals in Taiwan, it is important to explore the interaction between educational reform and political and cultural factors in Taiwan: the kind of democratisation that is being promoted in Taiwanese schools and the kind that is desirable. At this moment, when democratisation interacts with local culture and politics, there are problems related to the 'enforcement' of democracy.

If women are to be integrated into the leadership of educational organisations in Taiwan, we also need a broader and deeper understanding of the socialisation of women in the workplace and women's experience when they become managers in Taiwan. Only when women are made aware of how gender socialization and the educational system have affected their career choice and performances, can they make further progress in their career. Then the entry of women into educational management will bring new perspectives to school organizations and to the use of power within them.

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Appendix

- Appendix 1 Salary for Public University School Teachers in Taiwan Per Month, 2001
- Appendix 2 The Selection of Junior High School Principal in Taiwan
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Appendix 1: Salary for Public University and School Teachers Per Month, 2001

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Ministry of Education (2001: 40)

- Fifty New Taiwan Dollars are equivalent to one Pound Sterling.

Appendix 2: The Selection of Junior High School Principals in Taiwan

According to Lin (1987), the power to select junior high school principals and middle managers is usually held by the Department of Education in Taiwan Province, the Bureau of Education in Taipei City and the Bureau of Education in Kaohsiung City. Because the political status of Taipei and Kaohsiung are equivalent to Taiwan Province, these two cities conduct their own selection separately. Residents in different regions are not allowed to go to other regions to take the examination.

First Stage of Selection

Applicants need to be under 55 years old. There are also basic requirements relating to the degree and career experience of the candidates. In Taiwan Province and Taipei City, the basic qualification requirement is the same:

- PhD Graduate: 2 years of teaching and managing experience (at least 1 year as a middle manager)
- MA Graduate in education, 3 years of teaching and managing experience (at least 1 year as a middle manager)
- BA graduate in education, 6 years of teaching and managing experience (at least 3 year as a middle manager)
- At least 4 years experience as a civil servant in educational administration and at least 3 years of secondary school teaching.
- At least 3 years experience as a lecturer higher education institutions, and at least 3 years of secondary school teaching.

The requirements in Kaohsiung City are slightly different.

Second Stages of Selection

After meeting the basic requirements, the applicant's degree, career experience, job performance and INSET credits are also taken into account. Varying methods of calculation show how different educational authorities value degree, career experience, INSET and working locations differently. In Taiwan Province, the minimum points required are 70; it is 78 in Taipei and 75 points in Kaohsiung.

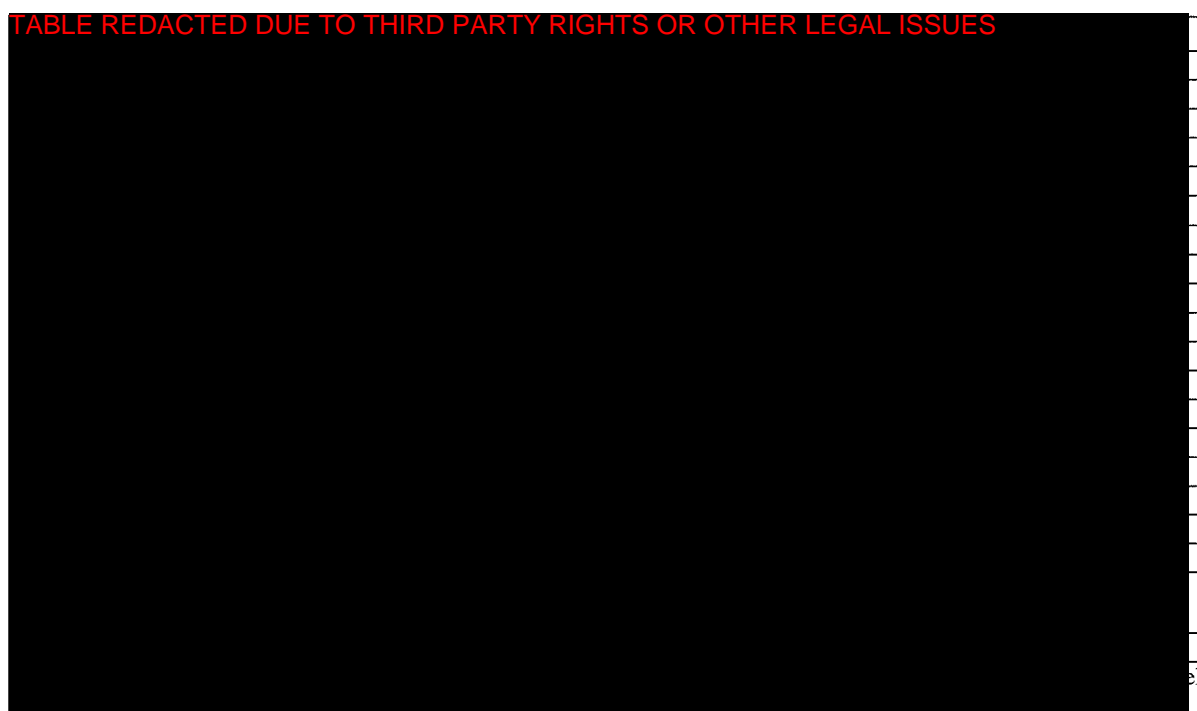
**The ways of accumulating of basic points prior to the official examination in Taiwan
province and Taipei**

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Lin (1987)

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Source: Lin (1987)

The Third Stage of Selection

After reaching the required number of points, candidates sit the written and oral examinations. These are credited as follows:

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

P: Primary Schools; J: Junior High School
Source: Lin (1987)

Changes made after 1997 in Taipei

According to the current regulation of the Bureau of Education in Taipei Municipal Government, the maximum age limit for candidates to take the principalship examination is 55. Applicants also have to meet one of the following criteria: for holders of a PhD in education, a minimum of one year's working experience as a middle manager is required; for holders of an MA in education degree, it is three years minimum; for holders of a bachelor degree in education, it is 6 years minimum. People who have been university/college lecturers in education for at least 3 years and have worked in secondary schools for at least 3 years are also eligible to apply. There are three criteria for the Examination Committee members to select and evaluate the candidates: 30% by qualification review (i.e. degree, working experience, working evaluation, INSET, national exams); 35% by written examination, and 35% by interviews (the Bureau of Education, Taipei Municipal Government).

Above all, it can be assumed that people who have higher degrees, are senior, better at examinations and are able to present themselves well orally (or, even better have a good relationship with scholars and government officials) are in a better position to compete with others.

Appendix 3: The Procedure for Selecting Middle Managers in Taiwan

According to Lin (1987), the selection of middle managers also take place in three regions, Taiwan Province, Taipei and Kaohsiung. Certain credits must be accumulated before junior managers are eligible to apply for the qualifying examination to be middle managers. 8-10 weeks of training are given after passing the written and oral examinations. In Kaousiung, middle managers in secondary schools are appointed by principals themselves. Teachers are eligible as long as they have 3 years of management experience as junior managers in schools.

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Appendix 4: General Survey -- The Questionnaire to Junior High School Principals

Sent to: 63 Returned: 39

Sex: <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F	
Age: <input type="checkbox"/> Under 35 (including 35) <input type="checkbox"/> 40-44 <input type="checkbox"/> 45-49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-54 <input type="checkbox"/> 55-59 <input type="checkbox"/> 60-64 <input type="checkbox"/> 65-70	
Religion : <input type="checkbox"/> Buddhist <input type="checkbox"/> Christian <input type="checkbox"/> Catholic <input type="checkbox"/> others	
Marital Status : <input type="checkbox"/> live alone <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Widower <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Others	
Political Party : <input type="checkbox"/> Nationalist Party (KMT) <input type="checkbox"/> Democratic Progressing Party <input type="checkbox"/> New Party <input type="checkbox"/> Others	
Qualifications (tick those that apply) <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher College (major in _____) <input type="checkbox"/> Normal (Teacher) Universities (major in _____) <input type="checkbox"/> Other Universities (major in _____) <input type="checkbox"/> MA in Education <input type="checkbox"/> MA in other fields <input type="checkbox"/> Phd in Education <input type="checkbox"/> Phd in other fields <input type="checkbox"/> Others	
How many years of teaching experience did you have before becoming a head?	How many years of experience you have as a junior and senior managers in schools?
How many years of experience do you have as a head?	How many times have you been transferred to other schools?
The numbers of students and classes in your school: <u>1, 2,</u>	
In general, how many hours do you spend in school each day? : <u> </u> hours	
How many of your graduates went to public senior high schools this year?	
How do you feel about your work as a head of a junior high school? : <input type="checkbox"/> enjoy very much <input type="checkbox"/> enjoy <input type="checkbox"/> just fine <input type="checkbox"/> dislike <input type="checkbox"/> dislike very much <input type="checkbox"/> others	
How would you evaluate your own performance? <input type="checkbox"/> very satisfying <input type="checkbox"/> satisfying <input type="checkbox"/> just fine <input type="checkbox"/> unsatisfying <input type="checkbox"/> very unsatisfying <input type="checkbox"/> others	
How would you see the amounts of work that you do everyday? <input type="checkbox"/> too heavy <input type="checkbox"/> Quite heavy <input type="checkbox"/> just fine <input type="checkbox"/> relaxing <input type="checkbox"/> very relaxing <input type="checkbox"/> others	
From the following items, tick those you find most appropriate to describe your work? <input type="checkbox"/> 1, communication and negotiation <input type="checkbox"/> 2, to carry out government's educational policies <input type="checkbox"/> 3, leadership in teaching <input type="checkbox"/> 4, school management <input type="checkbox"/> 5, school development <input type="checkbox"/> 6, to do administration work <input type="checkbox"/> 7, to establish good public relationship outside the school <input type="checkbox"/> 8, Others	
As far as you know, were there any female heads who previously worked in your school during 1988 to 1998? <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Yes , 1, <u>from to </u> 2, <u>from to </u>	

Appendix 5: Letter to Principals before the Visit

Dear XXX

I am a research student at the University of London, Institute of Education. I am currently conducting a comparative study of the role of principals and secondary school management in Taiwan and the UK. I choose your school and other 11 junior high schools randomly from a list of the schools in this city.

I would like to have your permission to come and talk to you in your school in connection with my research. The aim is to gain a full understanding of how secondary schools are actually run on daily basis in Taiwan. I would also like to talk with you about how you experience being a school principal. Visiting your schools will provide me with some valuable information and data though I do appreciate that you are very busy. Your support is very important to my work.

I will contact you in several days' time to find out your decision and to talk about my research in more detail. I hope that I can have your agreement to visit your school. After completing this project, I would be very happy to send you the summary of my findings.

I apologise for any inconvenience.

Sincerely

I-Ru Chen

Appendix 6: Questions Used in Interviewing Principals

❖ *Personal background*

- 1 Give a general outline of your family background & educational background.
- 2 Give a general description of your career experience since you left school.
(What kind of administration work have you done before? Have you ever changed schools? Why?)

❖ *The job of a principal*

- 3 How many hours per day do you spend in schools? How do you allocate time to different aspects of your work? What proportion of time is spent on various kinds of tasks, i.e. meeting staff, doing paperwork, meeting visitors, ...
- 4 Does your work affect your social life and family life?

❖ *Leadership experience & styles*

- 5 How you were promoted? How did your ex-principals treat them? What did you learn from the ex-principals?
- 6 Where and how did you learn to manage a school?
- 7 What do you require from your teachers?
- 8 How do you select middle/junior managers and co-operate with the management team?
- 9 Name three major incidents which took place in the school during your time and how you dealt with them.
- 10 What is the role of parents, TA and TAS in school?
- 11 What is unique about this school compared with those nearby? How do you compare with other principals you know?

❖ *Vision and plan about their schools*

- 12 What do you consider the role of a principal of a school?
- 13 In your view, what are the biggest pleasures/challenges in running this school?

Appendix 7: Questions Asked in Interviewing Middle and Junior Managers

❖ *Personal Background*

- 1 Give a general description of your educational background and career experience.

❖ *School management*

- 2 How were you promoted (internally or externally)?
- 3 How do you like their administrative work? Why? Do you want to continue and move on?
- 4 Compared with the nearby school, what is the main difference between this school and that? How about principals?
- 5 Do your children also study here? Why or why not?

❖ *Principal's leadership styles and experience*

- 6 What kind of requirements does the principal set up for managers and teachers in the school?
- 7 How do you act when you see your principal? How often do you see him/her, and for what reason?
- 8 To whom do you talk when you have problems in the classroom?
- 9 Does the current principal's gender differ from the former one? What's the difference between having men and women principals?
- 10 Locate three significant incidents that have taken place since the principal came. How did (s)he deal with it?

❖ *Vision and values in education --*

- 11 If you were the principal, would you do anything differently? (Any gender differences?)

Appendix 8: Questions Asked in Interviewing Teachers

❖ *Personal background*

- 1 Give a general description of your career experience after they left university.

❖ *School management*

- 2 Compared with the nearby schools, what are the differences?
- 3 Do your children also study here? Do you plan to have your children studying here?

❖ *Leadership experiences*

- 4 Do you meet the principal often? How are you expected to behave? What issues do you usually talk about?
- 5 What kind of requirements does the principal set for teachers?
- 6 When you have problems in the classroom, who do you usually talk to solve the problems? Why?
- 7 How are the managers are promoted in school?
- 8 Does the current principal's gender differ from the former one? What's the difference between having men and women principals?
- 9 Name three significant incident that have taken place in school after the current principal came. How did (s)he deal with it?

❖ *Vision and values in education*

- 10 If you were the principal, would you do things differently?

Appendix 9: The Interviewees in My Thesis

The mark ‘*’ represents my key informants.

Officials from the Bureau of Education			
Key Informants	Positions		Basic information on each person
	The Chief Manager of the Second Division (Secondary Education), the Bureau of Education		In his 40s. When I visited him, I usually went after office hours so that I would not interrupt his work schedule. However, most people would still be in the office when I visited. He was new in his job, but tried his best to provide as much information as possible.
*	The ex-Chief Manager of the Second Division, the Bureau of Education		He was in his 50s and at that point a school principal. He recalled some of his previous experience of working with secondary school principals in Taiwan. He knew most junior high school principals in the city well.
	The Director of the Teacher Training Centre, Taipei City		In his late 50s. He gave me a general picture about the regulations and processes involved in school principal selection in Taiwan, in particular the Taipei area.
Eleven Schools			
	The code of the person	Administrative Office or Subjects Taught	Basic information on each person
School One (woman principal)			
*	(S1, F)	Office of Teaching	In her early 40s. She showed a great deal of passion as a manager and enjoyed what she was doing very much.
	(S2, F)	Office of Discipline	She had been a manager for quite some time and felt that she had been treated unfairly in some ways, as the principal that she worked for previously preferred to work with men.
	(S3, M)	Office of General Affairs	He used to be a PE teacher. He was not particularly interested in becoming a manager, and enjoyed being a PE teacher very much. He became a manager under pressure from the fact that most PE teachers he knew had moved up to become managers.
	(T1, F)	Chair of TA, Chinese	She was in her 30s and had been teaching in this school since she left university. She was not interested in being a manager, though she was offered a management position from time to time.
	(T2, F)	Geography teacher	She was middle-aged. She was an overseas Chinese from Korea, who came to Taiwan to study for her first degree in the National Taiwan Normal University and stayed on afterwards.
School Two (woman principal)			
*	(S1, M)	Office of General Affairs	He used to be a PE teacher. He was an old colleague of the principal, and followed her to the current school. He was very outspoken, and disapproved of women being school managers.
	(S2, F)	Office of Counselling and Guidance (C&G)	In her early 40s. She felt that there was no difference in working with men or women principals, but felt that she could have a sisterhood relationship with the current principal.
	(S3, M)	Office of Teaching	He was in his 40s and had been a manager in this school since the beginning of his career.
	(J1, F)	Office of Counseling and Guidance	In her late 20s. She came to this school because the school was recruiting a junior manager. She did not have any particular plan about her future.
	(T1, F)	Chinese	In her mid 40s. She was the same age as the current principal and she showed disapproval of the principal's informal interaction with staff.
School Three (woman principal)			
	(S1, M)	Office of Discipline	He was new in this school. He came to this school because he did not get along well with the principal in the previous school.

*	(S2, F)	Office of C & G	She became a manager quite recently, though she was in her late 40s. She was on good terms with the principal and she was quite supportive of the principal's policies. But she was able to articulate some of the people's criticism about the principal.
	(T1, F)	Chinese	She had been a teacher for 10 years. She was not interested in becoming a manager.
	(T2, M)	Mathematics	In his early 30s. He pointed out that there had been a great deal of confrontation in the school, and he thought it was as a result of the principal's demanding attitudes.
	(T3, M)	Biology	He was in his late 30s and had been asked to be a manager twice. However, he was not really interested and considered the job as very tiring.
	(T4, F)	English	She was assigned to this school when she graduated. She saw herself as not very ambitious. She believed that the reason why the principal was not welcome was because of the different styles of management of the previous men principals.
School Four (woman principal)			
*	(S1, F)	Office of General Affairs	In her late 40s. She had been selected as an excellent teacher in the city. She became a manager when she was almost 40 years old. She got along well with the principal and shared the same vision with her.
	(S2, M)	Office of C & G	He was in his late 40s and had been a manager since the beginning of his career. He moved here because the location of the school is not far from where he lives.
	(S3, F)	Office of Teaching	She was also in her late 40s and got along well with the principal. Her career as a manager was interrupted from time to time until she became a middle manager a few years ago.
	(S4, 4)	Office of Personnel	A civil servant in her 40s. Thus, I considered she did not really get involved with most of the current critical issues related to educational reforms in school.
	(T1, F)	Chair of TA	In her early 30s. She thought that the principal's ideas were very progressive, though teachers might have difficulty in catching up.
	(T2, M)	Ex-Chair of TA	He was in his early 30s, and preferred to have a formal relationship with the principal.
	(T3, F)	Biology	She had been teaching for almost 20 years. She said she was not interested in school management because she had got married very early. She admitted that she did not know much about the principal.
School Five (woman principal)			
	(S1, M)	Office of General Affairs	He was in his early 40s and became a middle manager at a very young age. He showed strong approval for the principal's leadership.
*	(S2, M)	Office of Teaching	He came to this school because he did not share the same educational vision with the principal in the previous school. He chose to come to this school because he knew the principal when they were both at university.
	(T1, M)	Chinese	He had been a teacher for more than 20 years, and a junior manager for most of his career.
	(T2, F)	Chinese, Chair of TA	In her mid 30s. She had been a junior manager for some years. However, she did not continue, as she saw the job as too tiring. She also has great commitment towards her family and considered her personality not suitable for a manager.
School Six (woman principal)			
	(S1, M)	Office of Teaching	In his mid 40s. He came to this school after he completed his first degree. He had been a manager since starting work in this school.
*	(S2, M)	Office of C & G	In his mid 40s. He had been a manager since the beginning. He moved to this school because the current principal was also his superordinate in his previous school. After she became the principal, he came to assist her.
	(J1, F)	Office of Teaching	In her 40s. She had been working in a private school for 20 years. She came here on the condition that she would be a junior manager, and she accepted this.
	(T1, M)	Chair of TA	In his late 40s. He had been a junior manager before, but left because he wanted to have more time for his family. He would like to give management another try if given the opportunity.

	(T2, F)	Art and Handcraft	She had just left the university and was doing her teaching practice in this school.
	(T3, F)	Chinese	A senior teacher in her 40s. She had been a junior manager briefly. Because her husband was a busy researcher, she tried her best to adjust her career to suit the needs of the children.
School Seven (woman principal)			
*	(S1, F)	Office of Discipline	He was in his 40s and had been a PE teacher. I contacted him independently of the principal's office. Therefore, I felt that we were free to spend plenty of time going through every question.
	(S2, M)	Office of Teaching	I was introduced to him by the principal. The principal implied that the meeting should not be too long and asked him to meet her after the meeting. Thus, I could only spend 20 minutes with him.
	(T1, F)	Chair of TA, Chinese	She was in her 30s. She preferred teaching to being a school manager. She thought that the principal had very progressive ideas though teachers probably had difficulties in keeping pace.
School Eight (woman principal)			
*	(S1, M)	Office of General Affairs	He was in his early 50s. The principal arranged for him to see me. However, he spoke in a subtle way about the principal's strict policies that he did not agree with.
	(J1, F)	Office of Discipline	She became a junior manager when her children have grown up. She was on good terms with the principal. However, she was not happy to be seen as ambitious by her colleagues.
	(T1, F)	Teacher	She had not met the principal often, but believed that the principal was doing her job well.
School Nine (man principal)			
	(S1, M)	Office of Teaching and General Affairs	He was in charge of two offices, for there were no enough managers in the school. He was an old colleague of the principal and the two have been working well together.
*	(S2, F)	Office of C & G	She was in her 50s and had been a middle manager for a long period of time. She enjoyed her job as a school counsellor.
	(S3, F)	Office of Discipline	She was an acting manager now as she did not really want to do the job. She considered herself not very ambitious and indicated that she might resign from the position soon.
	(T1, F)	Chinese	She was in her early 30s and she enjoyed teaching very much.
	(T2,)	History	She was in her 30s. She had been a junior manager for 4 years, after which she left because of her family commitments.
School Ten (man principal)			
	(S1, M)	Office of General Affairs	In his early 60s. He was about the same age as the principal.
*	(S2, M)	Office of Discipline	He was in his early 40s and was frustrated about the working experience of managers because he did not see the educational reforms as favourable to school managers.
	(S3, F)	Office of C & G	She became a manager when her children started going to school. She was thinking of moving up though she was aware that there were some obstacles for her as a woman.
	(T1, M)	Mathematics	He was a senior teacher and had been a manager for some years. He was not interested in pursuing management positions, for he considered the job as tiring and exposed to criticism from others (teachers).
	(T2, M)	Chair of TA	He was in his early 30s and spoke frankly about how he confronted principals when he disagreed with the school policies which he believed had not been fair to teachers.
School Eleven (man principal)			
*	(S1, M)	Office of C & G	He recently passed the qualifying principal examination and was about to start his training soon in the Teacher Training Centre.
	(S2, F)	Office of Teaching	She transferred to this school because she did not get along well with the woman principal in the previous school.
	(T1, M)	Chair of TA	A senior teacher in his early 40s. He got along well with the principal.
	(T2, F)	English	A young teacher in her late 20s. She sometimes had arguments with parents and felt that the principal had been very supportive towards teachers.

Appendix 10: The Oral Tests for Primary Principals and Middle Managers in Taiwan Province in the 87th, 88th and 89th Sessions.

Educational Theories and terms (17)

- 1 How should operate a learning organisation?
 - 2 What is the philosophical foundation for liberal education?
 - 3 What is the positive and negative educational implications of Post-modernism?
 - 4 What is adaptive evaluation?
 - 5 What is personal file evaluation?
 - 6 What is null curriculum and hidden curriculum?
 - 7 What is the difference between an individual constructive and a social constructive environment?
 - 8 What is the meaning of effectiveness and of efficiency?
 - 9 How should apply emotion management?
 - 10 What is the difference between family education and parental education?
 - 11 What is the connotation of creativity?
 - 12 Explain what is positive valence and negative valence?
 - 13 What is CQ?
 - 14 What does Educational Priority Zones mean?
 - 15 What is a learning organisation?
 - 16 What is transformational leadership?
 - 17 What is Leadership Contingency Theory?
-

About their managing experience (6)

- 1 How should different departments work together?
 - 2 If you receive some money for maintenance, how are you going to use it?
 - 3 Please talk about the three most difficult things for you to handle in your current position?
 - 4 How does a young principal manage senior teachers?
 - 5 Do you think the questions asked here are related to your position in school?
 - 6 How should manage a school without failing?
-

Current Educational policy and possible reform (14)

- 1 How to get enough English teachers (for primary schools)?
 - 2 What are the five main directions in educational reform at the moment?
 - 3 How should combine discipline and counselling in one (the two belonged to different departments before)?
 - 4 How should apply education with more emphasis on Taiwan's nativist culture?
 - 5 How should put gender education and placement into practice in school?
 - 6 How should establish an obstacle-free environment in campus (for disabled students)?
 - 7 What is your opinion of the Career Ladder Scheme for teachers?
 - 8 Please describe the newly promulgated Special Education Act?
-

-
- 9 How should establish a humanitarian environment in school?
 - 10 How should enforce environment education and education in Taiwan's native culture?
 - 11 What are the aboriginal people's educational problems?
 - 12 What are your educational goals? Can you list in order of priority: morality, knowledge, physical education, social education and art education?
 - 13 How should promote life-long learning in schools?
 - 14 What is the meaning of 'the school without walls'?
-

About Student (9)

- 1 What kinds of principles should teachers follow when they are counselling and disciplining students?
 - 2 What is the 'Teenager Counselling Plan'?
 - 3 Please talk about your counselling cases.
 - 4 How should establish a Student Complaint Committee?
 - 5 How should school managers stop violence in the campus?
 - 6 What is the feature of the students these days?
 - 7 How should make life education workable in school?
 - 8 How should teenagers' problems develop? How to prevent them happening?
 - 9 How should make students like school?
-

About Teacher (4)

- 1 Teachers reject on-the-job training on the ground of their professional autonomy. How to handle this problem?
 - 2 How should handle difficult teachers?
 - 3 What is your opinion of the Teacher Association and Teacher Appeal Senate?
 - 4 When a teacher refuses to do extra inspection work, how to deal with it? (Apart from teaching, most teachers have to take turns at doing extra inspection work such as ensuring students' safety when they arrive and leave school or mark the tidiness of each classroom and the behaviours of each class during the day.
-

Public relations and community (5)

- 1 How should open the campus to the public and keep the students safe at the same time?
 - 2 How should build up good relations with the community?
 - 3 How should operate 'school communitize' and 'community schoolize'?
 - 4 How should improve a schools' public relations and make a school part of the local community?
 - 5 What are the connotations of a principal's public relations?
-

Others (4)

- 1 Introduce your own school for a minutes.
 - 2 What kind of magazines does the Circuit Guidance Group publish?
 - 3 What books have you been reading recently?
 - 4 As a woman, how do you play different roles well (i.e. in school and family)?
-

Appendix 11: Appointment of heads and deputy heads in England and Wales

Community, Voluntary Controlled and Community Special Schools

Governing bodies of schools with delegated budgets must:

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Foundation, Voluntary Aided and Foundation Special Schools

Governing bodies of schools with delegated budgets must:

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



(Source:http://www.dfes.gov.uk/a-z/APPONTMENT_OF_STAFF.html 05/07/2002)

Appendix 12: Survey Finding

The survey looks closely at the background and experience of the two thirds of men and women principals' who responded to the survey in the city where I conducted my interviews in Taiwan. The principals' sex, age, religion, marital status, educational qualifications, political party, average working hours and the nature of their work were included in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was sent to 63 junior high schools in the city, 40 people replied and 25 men and 15 women. I consider the sample to be representative of the general situation of the city.

The number of respondents (40) would make complicated statistical analysis inappropriate, so I use relatively simply statistics to present my results. In most cases I also put the actual number next to the calculated percentage so that the readers will not be misled by statistics in certain situations. The survey does not show clear gender difference in most cases, except in the fact that men are generally more senior than women. However, it provides a basic understanding about the background of the Taiwanese principals in general.

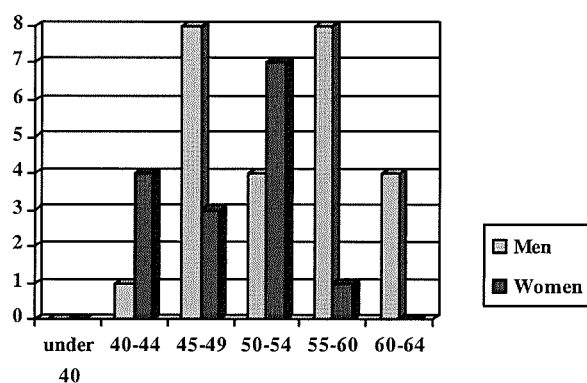
The result of the survey

11-1 Age of the principals

Table A11-1 shows the age distribution of men and women principals in Taiwan. It shows that women principals in general are younger and that their numbers are increasing.

Table: A10-1

Age group	40-44 yrs	45-49 yrs	50-54 yrs	55-59 yrs	60-64 yrs	Total
Number of men principals	1	8	4	8	4	25
Number of women principals	4	3	7	1	0	15



11.2 Religions of the principals

In terms of their religions, the majority of the respondents were Buddhists. According to the statistics from the Government Information Office (see Table A11-2-1), the majority of Taiwanese people are also Buddhists. And both Taoism and I-Kuan Taoism have a great deal in common with Buddhism.

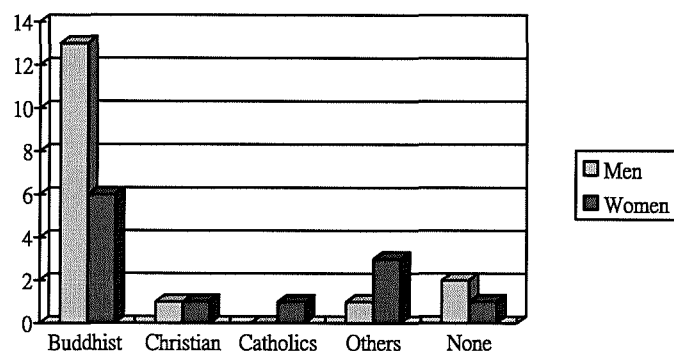
Table: A11-2-1

Religious Population 1995		
	Believers (thousands)	Percentages of Total Population
Buddhist	4,863	22.8
Taoist	3,852	18.1
I-Kuan Taoist	942	4.4
Protestant & Catholic	726	3.4
Other	748	3.5
Total	11,131	52.3

(Government information Office, 1997: 466)

Table: A11-2-2

Religion	Buddhist	Christian	Catholic	Others	None	Total
Number of men principals	13	1	0	1	2	17
Number of women principals	6	1	1	3	1	12

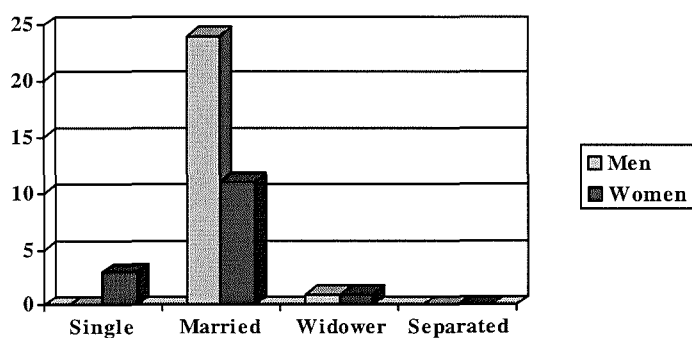


11.3 Marital status of the principals

The table below shows that all 25 men principals are married. However, three women principals out of the total 15 remained single. Overall, most principals were married: 96 % of men principals and 73% of women principals.

Table: A11-3

Marital Status	Single	Married	Widower	Separated	Total
Number of men principals	0	24	1	0	25
Number of women principals	3	11	1	0	15

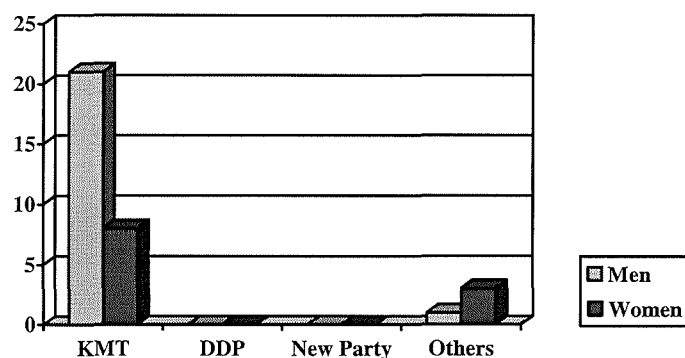


11-4 Political parties of the principals

Most principals belonged to the ex-ruling party, KMT: 96 % of men and 73% of women. No principals claimed that they belonged to the second or the third biggest political parties in Taiwan.

Table: A11-4

Political Party	KMT	DPP	New Party	Others	Total
Number of men principals	21	0	0	1	22
Number of women principals	8	0	0	3	11



KMT (KuoMingTang, also known as the Nationalist Party) had claimed to have millions of supporters before its splits in 1994 and 2000. Currently, it is difficult to know the actual numbers of its members. On the other hand, DPP (the Democratic Progressive Party) had around 160,000 members before the presidential election in May 2000 (Open Magazine, 2000: 53). After Chen from DPP won the election, the members of DPP increased to 300,000 in two months. DPP became the ruling party in 2000 though none of the principals in this study are members of it. This is probably because DPP is a relatively new party (founded in 1986), and also because the members of the DPP had far less chance to be 'chosen' as school managers as they had to go through selection by the educational authority.

11-5 Qualifications of the principals

When asked about their highest degree, all principals had studied in the national normal universities in Taiwan at some point. It seems that teachers who graduated from the

normal universities, especially those who graduated from the Department of Education when it comes to the selection of school managers, are preferred.

Table: A11-5

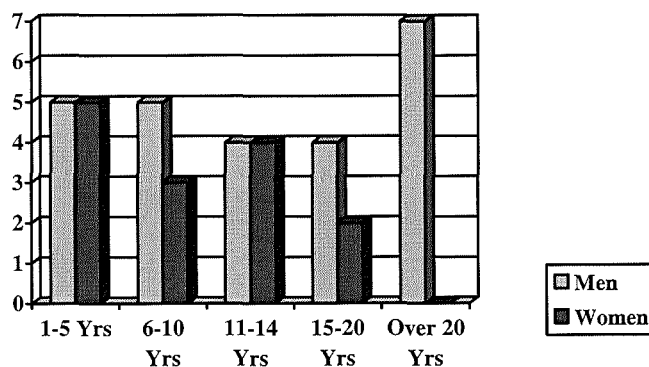
Qualifications	BA in normal univ.	BA in other univs	MA in normal univ.	MA in other univ.	PhD in normal univ.	Total
Number of men principals	18	0	4	7	0	25
Number of women principals	8	0	6	0	1	15

11-6 The total periods spent as principals:

It is no surprise that men principals are usually more senior than women principals.

Table: A11-6

Total years	0-5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-14 yrs	15-20yrs	Over 20yrs	Total
Number of men principals	5	5	4	4	7	25
Number of women principals	5	3	4	2	0	14



11-8 The numbers of students in their schools

Men principals tended to work in bigger schools which have more students and classes. Men principals were generally more senior than women principals. They tended to stay in bigger schools to establish their seniority.

Table: A11-8-1

Number of students in their schools	1-500	501-1000	1001-1500	1501-2000	Over 2000	Total
Number of men principals	2	4	5	2	11	24
Number of women principals	1	4	3	4	3	15

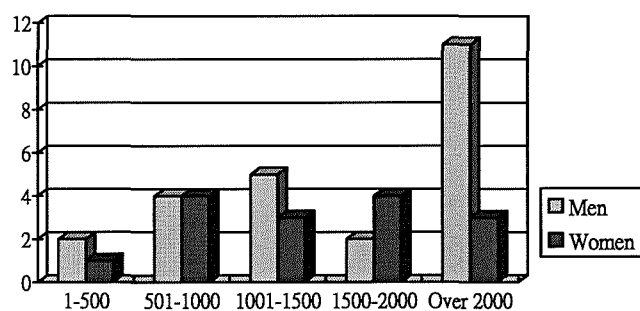
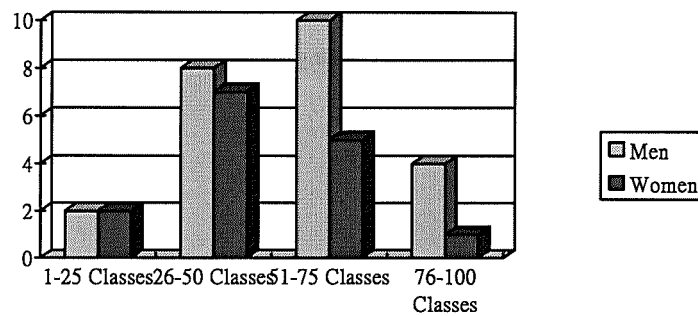


Table: A11-8-2

Number of classes in their current schools	1-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Total
Number of men principals	2	8	10	4	24
Number of women principals	2	7	5	1	15



11-9 Working hours

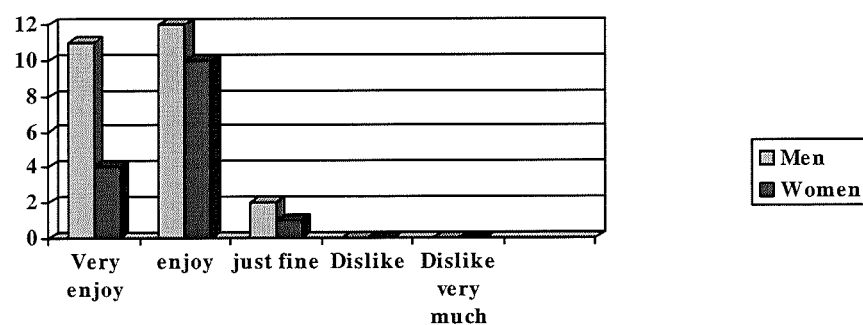
The working hours do not show much gender difference. The average for men principals was 10.6; the average working hours for women was 10.5. Nevertheless, my interview showed that principals are usually among the last group of staff to leave schools.

11-10 How they enjoy their work as principals (In five-rating scales)

Over all, most principals enjoyed their work. None of them ticked 'dislike' or 'dislike very much' in response to this question. Nevertheless, it is likely that they could have given 'politically correct' answers and avoided answers that might indicate lack of capability.

Table: A11-10

Enjoyment	Very E	Enjoy	Just Fine	Dislike	Dislike very much	Total
Number of men principals	11	12	2	0	0	25
Number of women principals	4	10	1	0	0	15

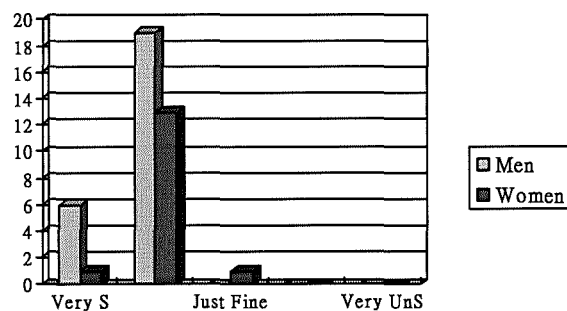


11-11 To what extent were they satisfied with their work?

The job satisfaction of these principals showed a similar result, in that most men and women principals were satisfied with the jobs they were doing. Nevertheless, it is likely that they avoided answers that showed they might not be capable of doing the job.

Table: A11-11

Satisfaction	Very S	Satisfied	Just Fine	Unsatisfied	Very Unsatisfied	Total
Number of men principals	6	19	0	0	0	25
Number of women principals	1	13	1	0	0	15

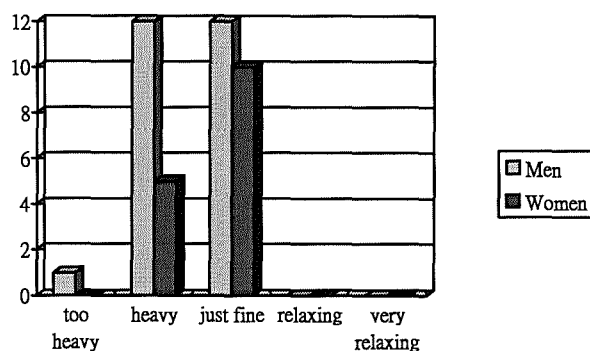


11-12 The extent of their workload

Most principals considered their workload as heavy or just fine, while no one considered the job to be relaxing. Again, it is likely that they avoided answers that showed they might not be capable of doing the job.

Table: A11-12

Wordload	Too Heavy	Heavy	Just Fine	Relaxing	Very Relaxing	Total
Men	1	12	12	0	0	25
Women	0	5	10	0	0	15



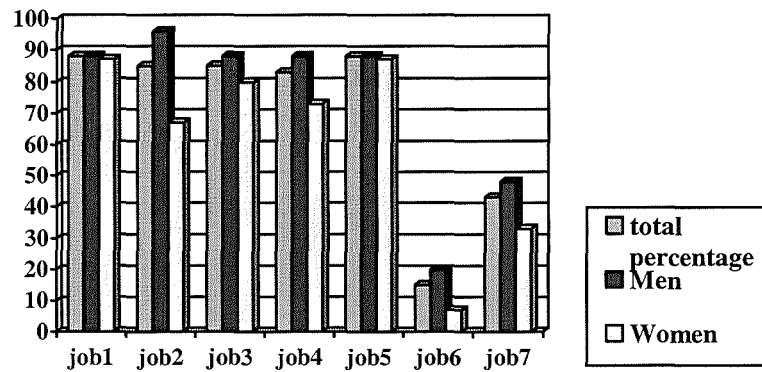
11-13 Tick what you find most suitable to describe your work

- Job 1 communication and negotiation
- Job 2 carrying out the government's educational policies
- Job 3 leadership in teaching
- Job 4 school management
- Job 5 school development
- Job 6 to do administrative work
- Job 7 to establish good public relationship outside the school
- Job 8 Others

The chart below shows that most principals agreed that their main tasks were about communication and negotiation; carrying out the government's policies; leadership in teaching; school management and school development. However, few agreed that principalship is about administrative work. Significant gender difference is not found in most job descriptions, except that more men than women principals considered part of their job is to carry out government's educational policies.

Table: 11-13

	Job 1	Job 2	Job 3	Job 4	Job 5	Job 6	Job 7	Total
Men principals	22 (88%)	24 (96%)	22 (88%)	22 (88%)	22 (88%)	5 (20%)	12 (48%)	25 (100%)
Women principals	13 (87)	10 (67%)	12 (80%)	11 (73%)	13 (87%)	1 (7%)	5 (33%)	15 (100%)



Conclusion

Overall, women principals in general seemed to be younger, and the numbers of women principals are increasing. The survey does not show a clear gender difference in most cases. However, it provides a brief idea about the background of the principals in general. The principals in Taiwan are a reasonably homogeneous group since they all studied in the same kind of institution when Taiwan was still under martial law before 1987.

